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ABSTRACT

This document contains summaries of presentations and discussions from five seminars on building a connective system between school and work that took place during Fall 1991, with more than 125 participants. The report is organized to provide both the background materials and the presentations from each session of the seminal series. Each section has four parts: background briefs, representations, participant reactions and discussion, and lists of references. The following presentations are included: "Recent Developments in Preparing Youth for Employment" (James Van Erden; Hilary Pennington); "Approaches from Other Countries on Preparing Youth for Employment" (Margaret Vickers, Stephen Hamilton); "Setting Qualifications for Employment--The Role of Employers and Unions" (Peter Carlivati, George Bliss); "Improving Federal Policies for Youth Employment Training" (Jon Weintraub, Raymond Uhalde, Alan Zuckerman, Patricia McNeil); and "Essential Components of Quality School- and Work-Based Programs for Youth" (Gordon Ambach). (KC)

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BUILDING SYSTEM CONNECT SCHOOL EMPLOYMENT

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"It is important to say what school-to-work is not. It isn't a single model. It isn't a single concept. It's not a new track. It's not a closed option. It's not a new federal program. It must be implemented at the state and local levels. It is a system that can build on very strong principles. It is a system that can be customized at the state and local level."

—James Van Erden, U.S. Department of Labor

"We are not talking about working and then going back to school. It is the integration between the two that is critical. It is the appreciation and understanding that while on the job, you can learn math and other subjects as well as while sitting in the classroom."

—Hilary Pennington, Jobs for the Future

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Building a System To Connect School and Employment

Council of Chief State School Officers

and

American Youth Policy Forum

Council of Chief State School Officers (CCSSO)

The Council of Chief State School Officers (CCSSO) is a nationwide non-profit organization of the 57 public education officials who head departments of public education in the 50 states, 5 U.S. extra-state jurisdictions, the District of Columbia, and the Department of Defense Dependents Schools. It has functioned as an independent national council since 1927 and has been based in Washington since 1948. CCSSO seeks its members' consensus on major education issues and expresses their views to civic and professional organizations, to federal agencies, to Congress, and to the public. Through its structure of committees and task forces, the Council responds to a broad range of concerns about education and provides leadership on major education issues.

Because the Council represents each state's chief education administrator, it has access to the educational and governmental establishment in each state and to the national influence that accompanies that unique position. CCSSO forms coalitions with many other education organizations and is able to provide leadership for a variety of policy concerns that affect elementary and secondary education. Thus, CCSSO members are able to act cooperatively on matters vital to the education of America's young people.

The CCSSO Resource Center on Educational Equity provides services designed to achieve equity and high quality education for minorities, women and girls, and for the disabled, limited English proficient, and low-income students. The Center is responsible for managing and staffing a variety of CCSSO leadership initiatives to assure education success for all children and youth, including the Council's 1991 priority, "Connecting School and Employment."

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American Youth Policy Forum

The Forum provides Washington policy makers and their aides with information and professional development experiences helpful to the development of an effective youth education, training and transition-to-employment system for the United States (including youth apprenticeship, youth service and other experience-based learning methodologies). The Forum does this by bringing leading policy makers, researchers and program implementers into dialogue with a bipartisan group of senior Congressional aides and Executive Branch officials, generally at the deputy assistant secretary level or higher, and their counterparts in the states.

The Forum supplements Washington work experience with a variety of informal, in-service seminars: site visits to programs in the field, workshops, debates and various exchanges of perspectives with leaders and program managers outside Washington.

Emphasis in these voluntary and supplementary learning experiences is upon developing broad understanding and wide exposure to current education, training and youth development issues. The Forum advocates no particular policies, nor does it take positions on pending legislative controversies. Our aim is to develop better communication, greater understanding, enhanced trust and, ultimately, a climate in which constructive federal action can be taken that strengthens state and local leadership in the education and training arenas.

The Forum is supported by a consortium of seven philanthropic foundations, including the DeWitt Wallace-Reader's Digest Fund, Pew Charitable Trusts, Charles S. Mott Foundation, Lilly Endowment, Commonwealth Fund, W.K. Kellogg Foundation and John D. & Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation.

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Foreword

This report is the product of several converging activities concerning the purposes, prospects and limitations of shaping comprehensive policy for the career preparation of American youth.

In 1988, **The Forgotten Half: Non-College Youth in America** and **The Forgotten Half: Pathways to Success for America's Youth and Young Families**, two reports of the William T. Grant Foundation Commission on Work, Family and Citizenship, exposed the lack of options for programs of quality, other than college attendance, leading to high earnings and productive employment. The Grant Commission recommended development of new pathways and support toward careers for those who might not pursue a four-year college degree immediately after high school.

In 1991, the Council of Chief State School Officers put its highest priority on the topic of connecting school and employment. The Council published a policy paper and several reports and called for improved paths for American youth to prepare for productive employment; the restructuring of schools to support this objective; and new responsibilities for schools, businesses, employee organizations, and postsecondary institutions to establish sound career preparation patterns for the majority of our youth.

By 1992, interest in national actions and federal initiatives was swelling. Proposals for federal interventions were abundant but there was no good forum for interested parties to explore alternatives and examine the issues from a perspective outside their organizational roles on Capitol Hill, as advocates, or in the Administration. The Grant Foundation Commission and the Council decided to collaborate in the planning and implementation of a seminar series involving key persons essential to decision making on a system for school-to-career transition in this country.

Beginning in the fall of 1991, five seminars involved over 125 participants. The purpose of the seminars was to illuminate the issues and not drive to consensus. The sessions took place during the 1992 Presidential and Congressional elections. Participants of both parties contributed with the expectation that the issues would be essential no matter who won the elections.

This report is organized to provide both the background materials and the presentations from each session of the seminar series. Each section designated by a roman numeral represents a seminar session. Each section has four parts: Background Briefs, Presentations, Participant Reactions and Discussion. Reference lists for each section follow.

The seminar discussions and the information exchanged contributed to the momentum that has elevated this issue on the current national policy agenda with major Administration and strong bipartisan Congressional support. The Clinton Administration has advanced a key initiative—"The School-to-Work Opportunities Act"—and several additional bills have been introduced by Members of the 103rd Congress. As this report goes to the printer, the Congress stands poised to approve the essence of the Clinton Administration initiative.

In one sense, this report is an "archaeological artifact," overtaken by rapid changes on the political scene in Washington. But more importantly, we think, the report contains a great deal of wisdom and practical guidance for the thousands of educators, employers, parents and others who will be designing and implementing the *system* envisioned in the "School-to-Work Opportunities Act." Hardly any of the tough issues discussed in this report by some of the

nation's leading proponents of school-to-career transition have been solved in the legislation now nearing President Clinton's signature.

In sum, this report reflects the concerns and the counsel of educators, practitioners, researchers, policy makers, representatives of labor unions, business organizations, and federal and state government officials. It does not offer definitive solutions for integrating learning in schools and in workplaces and providing structured programs that result in occupational credentials and access to a range of career and further education options. Rather, it provides documentation of the issues that must be addressed and the resources that must be assembled and realigned if the United States is to build a coherent and effective system of youth development and career preparation for all our young people.

Gordon M. Ambach
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Council of Chief State School Officers

Samuel Halperin
Director
American Youth Policy Forum
(former Study Director of the William T. Grant Foundation Commission on Work, Family and Citizenship)

Acknowledgements

The Council thanks the William T. Grant Foundation Commission on Work, Family and Citizenship for support of the seminar series. We especially thank Samuel Halperin, former Study Director of the Commission, for his encouragement and guidance during this project, but more importantly for his never-ending quest to improve the options and vistas for young people and to mobilize organizations and services to improve opportunities for "the forgotten half." We also wish to thank the many individuals involved in the series—presenters and participants—for their thoughtful insights on the needs of young people and the appropriate and necessary responses of government and other institutions.

Special thanks are extended to Gordon M. Ambach, Executive Director of the Council, who served as moderator of the seminars and who provided leadership to the project, and to Cynthia G. Brown, who provided general guidance.

Others with major responsibility for this effort include Glenda Partee, who developed the briefing papers, organized the seminars and compiled the important lessons of the seminar series. As general editor, Glenda's diligence and scholarship are reflected on every page of this report. Appreciation also goes to Ron Basillion whose attention to specific details made these seminars a particular success. Council interns Amelia Huffman, Deborah Gustafson and Chuck Gingrich contacted seminar participants to ensure their attendance and provided general support to the project.

Final editing of this document was provided by Jennifer Cusack and Samuel Halperin of the American Youth Policy Forum.

I BACKGROUND BRIEF:

Recent Developments in Preparing Youth for Employment

Following is a brief review of several pathways by which secondary-level students or dropouts may prepare for employment in this country. Despite the opportunities these pathways represent, there is concern that they do not provide large enough numbers of our young people with a clear link and course of study leading in systematic fashion to employment with potential for advancement, further training, or recognized credentials in occupational fields. This is a tall request—one that only a few pathways or models can, at present, fully address. In total, however, they represent a great resource which, if coordinated and linked in a more cohesive fashion, can begin to develop into a *system* of youth education and employment preparation.

Vocational and Technical Education

An intricate structure of vocational technical education exists throughout the country and provides the foundation for many education and training opportunities for youth. This structure is comprised of a vast and often uncharted array of secondary, postsecondary, and proprietary institutions offering programs of diverse characteristics and varying quality which are funded singly or through a combination of federal, state, local or private sources.

States and localities provide the greatest support for vocational technical education (McDonnell and Zellman found the local contribution to vary from less than 5 percent to 91 percent). The level of federal support to youth employment preparation, however, is difficult to gauge since it comes in many forms with different program foci and targeted populations. These federal programs and their policies help to shape the direction of vocational technical education in the states and localities.

The Carl D. Perkins Vocational and Applied Technology Education Act Amendments of 1990 are helping to transform the face of vocational technical education and, in many cases, the structure of high schools by providing a more unified approach to learning. In many schools and districts this means eliminating the separation of vocational and academic education, and the disparities in achievement and attainment across the curriculums previously designated for "college-bound" and "work-bound" students.

Whereas Perkins-supported programs are generally school-based, Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) programs often take place in out-of-school settings. They prepare youth and unskilled adults for entry into the labor force, and provide job skills training for economically disadvantaged individuals and others facing serious barriers to employment. In the past, these programs have tended to be short-term, low-intensity programs with limited effectiveness. However, recent legislative changes seek to offset these limitations. For youth, this means the availability of year-round and summer programs that provide comprehensive services, including basic, occupational, pre-employment and work experience combined with skills training and supportive services.

In addition to implementing JTPA programs, the U.S. Department of Labor supports a number of work-based learning projects to change the way students learn workplace skills. DOL has funded demonstration projects to explore ways of redesigning school- and work-site curriculums so that students learn job-related subjects in a practical context and are better prepared to enter the workforce.

Reforms in Vocational Technical Education

School restructuring efforts focusing on issues of governance, organization of curriculum and instruction, new professional roles for educators, and new accountability measures for schools and staff are having increasing impact and implications for vocational technical education. The diversity and structure of vocational technical education, its uneven quality and application, and growing recognition as a resource for upgrading the skills of America's workforce, require its transformation to support a variety of quality options in the way young people prepare for employment and further education and training. Conversely, many vocational methodologies are now being mainstreamed into current reforms in regular education and are also reflected in learning practices in the workplace.

Among continuing and new reforms in vocational education are:

- the integration of academic and occupational curriculums and the use of applied/contextualized learning;
- cooperative learning;
- team teaching;
- the use of authentic assessments; and
- the integration of classroom and work-site learning.

The concept of integrating the curriculum content and instructional practices of academic and vocational education is an important reform strategy requiring that:

- Schools develop richer, more structured curricula that support the development of academic and generic skills.
- Teachers provide more activity-based pedagogy that motivates students toward learning and provides them with practical understanding.
- Teachers coordinate and collaborate to foster the exchange of knowledge and improved communication among disciplines.
- Schools focus greater attention on skills and knowledge needed by students for making the transition to employment or postsecondary education (Bodilly, Ramsay, Stasz and Eden, 1993).

These changes characterize schools such as those identified by the National Center for Research in Vocational Education as **high schools with character or focused schools**. In addition to these characteristics, these schools possess a special school identity, commonly established through an industrial connection. It is this connection or partnership with employers that helps provide greater parallel or authenticity of the school curriculum with the occupational demands of the industry (Mitchell, Russell and Benson, 1990).

Partnership or Career Academies represent another model of reform within vocational technical education. They are structured as schools within schools possessing a broad occupational theme, not preparation for a particular job area. Typically, a team of academic teachers and a vocational teacher work with the same cohort of students for two or three years.

"Although unrecognized until now, vocational education has long used team teaching, forms of cooperative learning, and experiential and applied learning. We address multiple intelligences—artistic, kinetic, and social as well as lingual and mathematical—and we use alternative forms of assessment, such as portfolios."

—Lawrence Rosenstock, administrator at Rindge High School in Cambridge, Massachusetts, the second oldest vocational program in the United States (App, 1992, p. 7)

THE ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

Public secondary institutions are the source of approximately 60 percent of vocational education enrollments provided mostly in **general high schools** (10,851) offering fewer than six vocational education programs, and **comprehensive high schools** (487). These institutions are the source of the one or two courses at the secondary level which almost all students take, including college-bound students who account for almost half of all vocational enrollments. For sequenced programs of greater depth and a broader range of courses, opportunities exist in **vocational high schools** (225) and **area vocational-technical centers** (1,395). These institutions serve students in a school system or region and provide vocational instruction for part of the day (McDonnell and Zellman, 1993; National Assessment of Vocational Education, 1988).

In addition to offerings in public secondary schools, vocational technical education is available in a variety of public postsecondary schools, including non-degree granting area vocational schools; community colleges; technical institutions, which grant degrees and offer primarily vocational technical instruction; specialized schools which offer instruction in one occupational area; four-year institutions; and skills centers which provide programs for economically disadvantaged students. Additionally, vocational technical education is offered in approximately 7,400 proprietary schools, of which over 6,800 are postsecondary.

Academies have strong linkages with local employers in the relevant career sector. Employers commit time, resources and job placements for students. A true partnership between the industry and the academy assures that the training students receive authentically reflects the skills needed in the career area (U.S. Department of Education, March 1991; Grubb and McDonnell, 1991).

The **Southern Regional Education Board-State Vocational Education Consortium** is helping high schools throughout the South and, recently, beyond change the quality of experiences for students that "do not fit easily into the college preparatory track." The Consortium is doing this by: changing **what** students are taught; **how** they are taught; **what** schools expect of students; and **how** academic and vocational teachers relate to each other and to the students they teach (Bottoms, Presson and Johnson, 1992). The results are upgraded (not watered down) academic and vocational courses that accelerate student achievement and help them see the relationship between course content and future life roles; and improved guidance and counseling services that support these goals.

These efforts parallel and draw upon the **tech prep or 2 + 2** model. Typically, tech prep programs link the last two years of high school and two years of postsecondary school or a registered apprenticeship program through a common core of courses in math, science, communications and technologies and lead to an Associate degree or certificate in a specific career field. (Variations on the model include a 4 + 2 sequence of courses to ensure that students have the proper common core of knowledge and prerequisites in 9th and 10th grades to enter the 2 + 2 sequence; and a 2 + 2 + 2 leading to a baccalaureate degree.) These programs closely link academic and vocational courses leading to college course work or a registered apprenticeship within a rigorous technical education concentration (U.S. Department of Education, 1991).

These strategies are also associated with **alternative schools**, which usually offer small classes, programs that integrate remedial reading, writing and mathematics instruction into all subjects, and work/study options in which the curriculum is closely related to the skills students need on the job. These schools often offer flexible scheduling and individualized instruction which allow students to master skills at their own pace and within extended time frames. They also offer special services such as personal and career counseling, day care, family education and referrals to other agency services.

"Second-chance" programs for dropouts and poorly prepared youth are limited and serve only a small portion of youth with special needs. The **Job Corps**, funded through JTPA, is considered one of the most effective of federally supported programs for overcoming educational deficits and other employment barriers. It is primarily a residential program for school dropouts and provides intensive, long-term job training and remedial education as well as health care, counseling and job placement assistance. It has been shown to increase educational attainment levels and modest long-term earnings for some groups of young people (Ivry, 1993). Job Corps enrolls about 70,000 youth a year and has an annual cost per participant of $15,000 (U.S. General Accounting Office, May 1990). Currently a number of states and cities operate year-round youth corps that incorporate elements of the Job Corps experience.

The very structure and assumptions on which these programs are founded are in blurring the

"The Academies embrace the key elements of both school-to-work transition (integration of academic and vocational instruction around an occupational theme to create applied contextual learning opportunities, work-based learning, and direct links to the workplace and additional postsecondary schooling) and school reform (school restructuring, decentralization of school-based management to the Academy level, teacher empowerment, and interdisciplinary curriculum development)."

(Ivry, 1993, p. 4)

OBJECTIVES OF THE FEDERAL CARL D. PERKINS VOCATIONAL AND APPLIED TECHNOLOGY EDUCATION ACT AMENDMENTS OF 1990:

- the development of new connections between academic and vocational studies and the development of outcome-based program accountability;
- a focus on developing student knowledge of, and experience in, all aspects of the industry the student is preparing for, not on developing narrow skill content;
- new links between in-school and workplace training;
- strong connections with the programs of the Job Training Partnership Act, the Family Support Act, and other educational programs serving at-risk populations; and
- a new tech prep program through which grants are made to consortia of secondary and post-secondary institutions to provide well-connected technical preparation programs founded on integrated applied academic courses which bridge the two levels.

VARIETIES OF WORK-BASED EXPERIENCE

School-Business Partnerships serve to strengthen the ties between school and successful employment. The Boston Compact is one of the more successful models in which businesses throughout the city work with schools to provide career preparation services to students. Businesses provide summer and after-school jobs, guarantees of postsecondary employment, aptitude and ability testing, and mock employment interviews. In some cases, businesses tie students' school performance to preferential hiring and pay scales.

School-Based Enterprise (SBE) is an activity that engages students in providing services or producing goods for sale or use to people other than the participating students. Examples include: school restaurants, construction projects, print shops, farms, child care centers, retail and auto repair shops; production of school newspapers and yearbooks, etc. Whereas these activities are common, they do not involve the majority of students and are seldom integrated into the basic structure of the education system (U.S. Department of Education, March 1991).

Cooperative Education combines classroom instruction with work experience and on-the-job training related to a student's career goals. Students earn curriculum credit, receive grades and often remuneration for their co-op experience, as well as related instruction. Co-op placements are governed by written training agreements signed by the employer, student, the co-op coordinator (typically vocational teacher) and sometimes the parent outlining the specific responsibilities of each party. Secondary school programs are limited to juniors and seniors of which only about eight percent participate (U.S. General Accounting Office, August 1991).

Service Learning offers youth opportunities for developing and reinforcing important work readiness, appreciation, and sometimes occupational skills through unpaid (or nominally paid) services to the community. Quality service learning programs use community service experiences as a context for problem solving, addressing community issues, and reinforcing the skills and content of the school curriculum.

Apprenticeship is a powerful pedagogy based on contextualized learning for inculcating knowledge, motivating and transitioning young people into the workforce which in this country has yet to be capitalized fully. Its potential exists as a tool of educational reform to provide realistic options in the **what** (a well tested strategy for learning that provides an alternate way many individuals process knowledge and succeed in different educational contexts); the **who** (a combination of instructors and mentors in the school and the workplace); and the **where** (the school and the workplace) of learning.

The "youth" version of apprenticeship targets young people either in the last two years of high school or immediately following high school graduation and provides monitored work (preferably paid) experiences which are integrated with classroom study and which result in academic and occupational credentials. They make employment a critical context for learning, which when coordinated with theoretical and applied learning in the classroom, provide an important added value to the student's motivation for and depth of learning. Their reliance on the availability of structured experiences in the workplace are both their strength and their limiting factors, since they must be driven by employer-provided opportunities in the workplace.

Youth apprenticeship programs combine, at minimum, the following basic elements:

- work experience and guided learning opportunities for youth by employers within an industry or occupation cluster;
- structured linkage between secondary and postsecondary components of the program leading to the high school diploma, postsecondary credential and certification of occupational skills; and
- close integration of academic and occupational learning and of school and workplace experiences through planning and ongoing collaboration between school and industry personnel and through innovations in curriculum and instructional strategies in the classroom and at work.

traditional boundaries between secondary and postsecondary education and between academic and occupational learning within schools. Additionally, we are beginning to see greater evidence of integration of classroom- and work-site based learning. Although, tech prep programs may or may not include elements of on-the-job training, the federal law, in allowing for articulated programs across schools and registered apprenticeship programs, has created the potential for imbuing a stronger work-based learning component in these programs.

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Opportunities for Work-Site Learning

A number of opportunities exist for young people to gain work-based or work-site learning experiences. These opportunities may or may not be supervised or coordinated with the student's course of academic and vocational studies. They include:

- naturally occurring, paid, unsupervised jobs;
- naturally occurring, paid jobs that are supervised by a school or other training agency (e.g., cooperative education);
- unpaid work in families and family enterprises;
- synthetic, paid jobs (e.g., Neighborhood Youth Corps and Summer Youth Employment);
- unpaid experience in synthetic jobs (e.g., student enterprises);
- simulations, not producing goods or services;
- unpaid experience in real work settings (e.g., experience-based career education; community service; internships); and
- apprenticeship or youth apprenticeship (Stern, 1992).

Each of these experiences can be a valuable tool for creating the types of skills—academic, work readiness, and occupational—that young people need for success in the workplace. A particular experience can be viewed within the context of the appropriate developmental level of the student (i.e., non-paid, job shadowing experiences for younger students; more intensive and paid, work-site learning experiences for older youth). Additionally, these experiences may be part of a broader model such as career academies or tech prep.

As the value of experiential- or work-based learning becomes better understood we are witnessing an evolution or merging of different models to suit the needs and resources of different communities. For example, the state of West Virginia has developed **registered youth apprenticeship programs** with a **technical preparation** Associate degree program option. In using components and strategies from both registered apprenticeship and tech prep, resulting programs provide for greater flexibility and diversity in the education and employment preparation for youth.

Although compatible, distinctions exist between the tech prep and youth apprenticeship models:

- Tech prep, as currently implemented, seldom includes concurrent experiences in the workplace, whereas youth apprenticeship requires it.
- Tech prep programs generalize technology preparing students for a variety of career choices, whereas youth apprenticeship programs specialize in a particular industry and often in a particular trade (Education Construction Foundation, n.d.).

Conclusions

This discussion presents a range of related school and work-site learning opportunities and a wealth of resources available to the education and employment preparation of young people. Many opportunities rely on time tested learning and motivational strategies. They offer a continuum of experiences of differing intensity and scope, often times leading to different outcomes. Some are targeted on and effective with a particular group of young people. Many of the more coherent approaches are still in their infancy and do not reach a large number of young people.

Taken together, these pathways do not represent a cohesive system by which young people move from school into the workforce under supervised conditions that contribute to their overall development. Yet, they represent a foundation upon which a more cohesive system can be built.

Providing effective programs for all youth—those seeking employment immediately upon graduation from high school, as well as those beginning postsecondary education—requires a rethinking of systems, sources of support, and partnerships. Coordination of design and financial support from different "systems" and levels of government requires urgent attention to assure continuity and proper connections for all students. This may involve expansion of alternative schools and programs, such as cooperative education, internships, experience-based career education, apprenticeships, pre-employment training, dropout prevention, and youth-operated enterprises to provide some level of school-to-employment transition opportunities for every young person. This may also involve coordination of many federal and state programs designed to (1) prepare students for employment, and (2) ensure that they are reinforcing and supportive of a number of high quality options.

Questions

Answers to the following basic questions must be provided if we are to develop large-scale systems and methods for preparing youth for employment.

1) What changes must be made in curriculum, beginning in the elementary and middle school grades and extending into postsecondary education, to support improved preparation for employment for the majority of students?
2) How will schools and workplaces restructure to implement these goals?
3) What incentives will be required for students to participate in programs of school-to-employment transition? For school systems, employers and employee organizations to support and participate in these approaches?
4) What changes will be required in the roles and preparation of staff in schools and places of employment?
5) What will be the role of business, industry and organized labor in transforming schools and businesses into places of learning and development for youth?
6) What strategy can the federal government use to support improved preparation of youth for employment?
7) What support services will be required to insure that school-to-employment programs are available and accessible to all youth?

PRESENTATIONS:

Recent Developments in Preparing Youth for Employment

James Van Erden, Administrator of the Office of Work-based Learning, U.S. Department of Labor, has responsibility for the Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training, the Office of Trade Adjustment Assistance, and a training policy unit responsible for work-based learning initiatives. Together, these programs disburse about $1 billion per year. Van Erden led off the first seminar.

The second speaker was Hilary Pennington, President of Jobs for the Future. Pennington directs the organization's operations, research, policy development, and program implementation in the area of economic/workforce development and is a nationally recognized expert who has worked with many states and localities on the development of youth apprenticeship.

JAMES VAN ERDEN

To set a context for the discussion and to stress the importance of "what's in a name," Van Erden presented an overview of the existing U.S. apprenticeship program. He stressed the need to determine whether the discussion should center on (1) school-to-employment transition for young people, generally, or (2) youth apprenticeships exclusively. "It's important for us to understand our terms and what each of them means."

Fitzgerald Act and the Current U.S. Apprenticeship System

Apprenticeship builds on a fundamental principle—the linking of work and learning. By linking the theoretical with the practical, a very powerful method of teaching and learning is derived. The U.S. apprenticeship system is built on this concept and operates under broad federal and state guidelines.

The U.S. Department of Labor has been responsible for the current U.S. apprenticeship system since 1937 when the Fitzgerald Act was passed. The regulations in place today are essentially broad guidelines on how to register and administer a program. The Act delegates authority to the states for registration and approval of apprenticeship programs. Twenty-seven states have State Apprenticeship Councils (SAC), while the remaining 23 states rely entirely on the federal government's Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training (BAT) for program registration, monitoring and development.

"A BAT state where the federal government essentially controls and monitors the program is a slightly different environment than a SAC state with a council composed of union, employer, and public members actively involved in registering apprenticeship programs and insuring the implementation of guidelines. This distinction is important if a state is considering activity in the area of youth apprenticeship.

"The apprenticeship program in this country is not driven by federal dollars and there are few state dollars involved. Some vocational education funds flow into the system from federal and state sources; however, these funds are used primarily for related instruction provided by the vocational education or community college system.

"Some unions with strong international ties, such as those of the ironworkers and carpenters, may provide national training classes or forums which offer related instruction. It is rare that an apprentice receives instruction through a local education system.

"There are about 45,000 registered programs and about 300,000 apprentices nationwide.

Seventy percent of those apprentices are in construction trades. Programs are found primarily in the unionized sector and involve joint union and management control of the program. They tend to run two to five years in duration, although when regulations permit, a program may be as short as one year. The average program length is three to five years.

"These programs are broadly based and support development of a wide range of skills. An individual who goes through a carpenter's apprenticeship program will receive multi-skilled training and ultimately be able to handle most of the performance of the craft. This is an important factor underscoring union response to school-to-work programs.

"For unions, fragmentation is a dirty word that results in the development of narrowly—not broadly—educated individuals. You may bring people through the system much quicker, but you're not going to have the advantage of building cumulative skills. One of the criticisms levied against youth apprenticeship by unions is that it begins to break the concept of multi-skill training down into smaller components."

—James Van Erden

Apprenticeship vs. School-to-Employment Programs

"The factor distinguishing apprenticeship from other school-to-work programs in this country is the age cohort of participants. Apprentices average between 27 and 29 years of age. In manufacturing, the average age is 38. It is primarily a program for upgrading incumbent workers—not a transition program for young people going from school-to-work. In manufacturing, for example, an employee is seldom able to move into a higher performance job or mid-level management position until the completion of an apprenticeship.

"The apprenticeship is the on-the-job equivalent of a baccalaureate degree. It's a way for individuals with no college experience to move up on the career path. This is particularly true in the construction industry where it is a path to a higher level career.

"The basic concept remains the same, whether practiced by Germans, Danes, Swedes or Americans. The difference in our context is how and to whom it is applied. The concept remains powerful and consistent whether you apply it for upgrading individuals, or whether you apply it for youth who are coming into the workforce. The concept is the important idea.

Youth Apprenticeship: Do We Need to Change the Name?

"When the U.S. Department of Labor started talking about the concept of apprenticeship for young people, we termed it 'work-based learning.' However, this was like turning off a switch. By not calling it 'apprenticeship,' the trademark of this special way of teaching and learning is lost. The issue of the name has been discussed with representatives from the construction trades department of the AFL-CIO. Although they encourage and support work-based learning for young people, they do not want the terms apprenticeship used in this context.

"The Department of Labor sought to use work-based learning in the context of how individuals learn—not in the context of a standard time-based two-, three-, four-, or five-year apprenticeship. The important thing in work-

ON APPRENTICESHIP

The National Apprenticeship Act of 1937, also known as the Fitzgerald Act, and numerous state laws provide the basis for the operation of formal apprenticeship training programs in the U.S. These laws and regulations establish minimum requirements for protecting the welfare of the apprentice such as the length of training, the type and amount of related instruction, supervision of the apprentice, appropriate ratios of apprentices to journey persons, apprentice selection and recruitment procedures, wage progression, safety, etc. ("The Meaning of Apprenticeship," January 28, 1992).

According to the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship, "Apprenticeship is a training strategy that (a) combines supervised, structured on-the-job training with related theoretical instruction and (b) is sponsored by employers or labor/management groups that have the ability to hire and train in a work environment. The content of training, both on-the-job and related instruction, is defined and dictated by the needs of the industry. Apprentices learn by working under the supervision of masters in the trade, craft, or occupation; are paid according to a predefined wage progression scale; and receive a Certificate of Completion, which is recognized by federal and state governments, employer associations, labor organizations and individual employers, certifying mastery of skills upon completion of training. In the U.S., apprenticeship constitutes a major form of training for the building trades and numerous manufacturing industries. In many European countries, apprenticeship programs span more industries and serve as the primary form of training for work-bound youth." ("Promoting and expanding apprenticeship." April 28, 1992, p. 1.)

based learning is the linking of the work environment to learning. The link is what is important, not where you apply it in your individual career or how long you apply it. Work-based learning can be modular. Union training, however, supports the idea of teaching individuals to be multi-skilled in a craft. To start breaking these blocks of skills into smaller components—learned over a year or two, even less—is to undercut or fragment the required broad knowledge of the craft or trade.

"The Department's position has been that a four-year apprenticeship program is wonderful, but that should not be the only program length or model available. Under certain conditions, a two-year program can be valuable. Likewise, a one-year or a three-month program can have value. The more you apply the apprenticeship concept to a program, the more powerful the program becomes. There are people in the construction trades who understand the value of shorter-term modular training, but the point is that you cannot use this modular training to replace longer-term career programs. There is value in providing people with multiple opportunities. Hopefully, in another year or two, as the idea of youth apprenticeship or school-to-work moves forward, there will be more support for and acceptance of a variety of models."

School-to-Employment Models

To set the stage for discussion, Van Erden explained the Department of Labor's view of a proper school-to-work system:

1) A system of school-to-work programs should incorporate the apprenticeship concept of training. There is no particular methodology except that the theoretical and the practical are integrated.
2) School-to-work for youth should be a voluntary option—not a track, but a voluntary option that links school and the workplace.
3) It should be a high-value option that leads to new careers, not a dumping ground for youth who are "not good enough" to go on to college. This should be an option that requires real effort to get in and stay in.
4) School-to-work programs should have high standards that are equally consistent with the quality of standards applied to young people who go to college.

"The German dual system, based on the apprenticeship concept, is the main track for educating young people. Seventy percent of youth go through this system. It provides alternate paths to the same goal reached by many youth who go through the formal education system.

"For example, an individual interested in engineering can go through the formal education system and get a degree in engineering or through the apprenticeship system and get a practical engineering degree. Those two degrees are basically considered equal. In many cases, the practical degree is considered stronger because it includes experience—not just theoretical background.

"It is important to have standards to ensure that this option is a quality one and that programs within this system are comparable to programs in other systems or pathways. Many graduates of the apprenticeship program in Germany go on to college. Hence, it is not a closed-end option. Any school-to-work program we consider in this country must be a clear, viable alternative, such that upon completion of the program, the individual is just as eligible to go on to higher education as someone who has gone through the regular education track.

"The concern that enters into the discussion about work-based learning and its relationship to the registered apprenticeship program is also important to the discussion of what is school-to-work. Is it a single model? Is it a single idea? It is not a single model, nor is it a single idea."

Van Erden suggested that we think in terms of a training spectrum. "The German dual system model is on one end—that is, a fully integrated

"It is important to say what school-to-work is not. It isn't a single model. It isn't a single concept. It's not a new track. It's not a closed option. It's not a new federal program. It must be implemented at the state and local levels. It is a system that can build on very strong principles. It is a system that can be customized at the state and local level. It requires a buy-in by educators, teachers, employers and parents. One of the critical things is that parents have to look at this for their kids and see that it is a high-value career option. Employers need to say that it's valuable and that they'll take student workers into their system because they are high-value kids. It's important for all of us to work together on this. It is an idea whose time has come, particularly if we look at National Education Goals two, three, and four.[1] This is a good model to apply to achieve higher graduation rates and to get our kids up to world class standards."

—James Van Erden

[1]The National Education Goals referenced here are:

Goal Two: By the year 2000, the high school graduation rate will increase to at least 90 percent.

Goal Three: By the year 2000, American students will leave grades 4, 8 and 12 having demonstrated competency over challenging subject matter including English, mathematics, science, foreign languages, arts, history, and geography, and every school in America will ensure that all students learn to use their minds well, so they may be prepared for responsible citizenship, further learning, and productive employment in our modern economy.

Goal Four: By the year 2000, United States students will be first in the world in mathematics and science achievement.

three- or four-year program possibly taking place on the work site and clearly integrating theoretical and practical learning—and cooperative education would be on the other end. Cooperative education in this sense would be a work introduction program. Both are school-to-work models, but of different intensities. It is also important to keep in mind that the program does not have to be time based. It does not have to be a three-and-a-half year program like in Germany, although it could be.

"Another program option is found in tech prep. It is possible to add a structured workplace component to a 2 + 2 tech prep program. This would create more of a school-to-work program than the regular theoretical tech prep of two years in a high school classroom and two years in a college classroom.

"There are other options—for example, a two-year pre-apprenticeship program for the junior and senior years in high school linking into an apprenticeship program upon high school graduation. Having students in a work-learning environment in the junior or senior year is a good option whether they go on to college or not."

Van Erden felt that the availability of such options may help to get more minorities and females to enter current apprenticeship programs. "This would particularly help females overcome the barrier of lack of experience. Young men often have had shop classes and work experiences that make them a little more eligible under the current criteria for entry into apprenticeship. If more females had experiences in work-based programs, we could get more women into apprenticeships."

Regarding criticisms of the types of work experience most students currently have, "A lot of kids in high school work because they are bored or they need the money. They work in McDonald's and other fast-food places. There is a school of thought that says we must get them out of these types of workplaces. Many years ago I taught operations research and management classes at the college level. One day, I was eating with my kids in McDonald's and I realized that there was much to be learned working there. For example, how to manage a small business—McDonald's or Wendy's are essentially small businesses. If you integrated what it takes to run one of those shops with what kids are learning in high school and even at the college level, there are some wonderful analogies to be made. We need to be flexible and not just say, 'It's got to be a three-year program at General Motors to be of value.' There are lots of interesting models that can be used to integrate work and learning.

"Clearly, whenever we design and implement school-to-work programs, our goal must be to achieve high standards. We're trying to keep kids in school so they can become better citizens, and go on to high-value career paths."

HILARY PENNINGTON

Pennington addressed this country's need to improve options for integrating work and learning for *all* youth—not only for those headed straight into the workforce but for those headed immediately to college. Her remarks focused chiefly on one approach to school-to-employment transition commonly known as "youth apprenticeship." She presented some of the broader policy issues and the more radical changes in behavior required of schools, businesses, unions and government that must be addressed in changing how young people make their way into careers.

In discussing the framework of policy issues for youth apprenticeship, she began by talking about its current status, its sources of motivation, the key players and the shape it is taking on. She then discussed the barriers and design challenges at the system level arising from the preliminary experiments. Finally, she reviewed the early implications for policy and practice.

Beginning-Level Experimentation

"Youth apprenticeship activities are largely at the beginning-level experimentation phase. Their genesis varies widely.

- It is governor-driven, as in the state of Arkansas, where former Governor Clinton created a legislative package appropriating $1.5 million to seed demonstration programs.
- It has been initiated by the Department of Commerce and groups of employers, as in the case of Pennsylvania, where metalworking firms got together and decided to create a program because the average age of skilled workers in that industry was 57 and no young people were entering vocational training for metalworking.
- There is also genesis in the state legislatures, as in Oregon's school reform legislation.

- Another source of leadership has been the chief state school officer in states such as Wisconsin that has put youth apprenticeship into the apprenticeship law in the state and is now leading the state in starting experimentation. Additionally, the Council of Chief State School Officers has given planning grants to ten states to design approaches to statewide implementation of youth apprenticeship.

"What is remarkable is the level of interest and excitement from so many different quarters—business, and with some caution as Jim Van Erden mentioned before, labor, education, parents, students and teachers. These initiatives are motivated primarily by the frustration that what we're doing now just isn't working. We're failing too many kids. There's also a dawning sense among the private sector that we don't have good ways of getting skilled workers into many technical occupations.

"There is great variation, both at the system and program level, in this beginning experimentation. Some approaches are starting from the top down with state policy and legislation; others are starting from the bottom up with different demonstration programs, like the metalworking program in Pennsylvania. Arkansas has ten different local demonstration projects.

"There's no right way to create a system or system change. What's common about all of these youth apprenticeship demonstrations is their degree or level of effort—they are very small. Despite the recent focus on youth apprenticeship before the public eye, the total effort currently involves maybe 200 or 300 students. Most of the demonstration projects only reach 15, 30, or 90 kids per school. So far, the scope is very small and the programs are very fragile.

Barriers and Issues to Address

"A particular concern is that youth apprenticeship risks being marginalized from the mainstream academic school reform agenda. It risks being put off as a vocational program for certain kinds of kids.

"The most daunting barrier for many educators, however, is a sense of exhaustion resulting from a decade of intensive education reform. Our efforts to improve school and work connections are perceived to be yet another fad, not a way of achieving broader goals and supporting larger efforts underway, like tech prep.

New Behaviors. "Among the serious barriers youth apprenticeship must face is the degree to which it requires new and different behaviors from each of the major social partners. On the school side is both the opportunity and the challenge of restructuring classrooms and having high quality applied academics integrated with work. That means developing teachers who know how to use work experiences as a teachable resource—who know how to do the kinds of things that Jim Van Erden was talking about with a work experience at a McDonald's.

"Teacher training costs must be considered. We should not assume that changed behaviors will result, given everything that teachers are being asked to do in their classrooms today.

Scheduling. "Another major conflict relates to scheduling. If you consider the most pure model—the German apprenticeship—students would be in the workplace two or three days a week. In the Boston Protech Project, the hospitals want the young people two days a week in order to create rotations for them and structure a high quality work-based learning experience. The schools cannot deal with that arrangement given the numbers of students that are involved in this new demonstration project. The schools think work release is okay for a couple of hours each afternoon, and maybe on a Friday, but big scheduling issues for large and consistent blocks of time have yet to be addressed.

Who Pays? "If young people can get a large part of their instruction at the workplace, or maybe through early involvement at the community college, what happens to the dollars attached to their attendance in schools? If they are in school part-time, does that mean that teachers have part-time jobs? So there's a set of questions that must be resolved on the school side.

Will Business Participate? "American companies are hardly known for the high quality training programs they give their existing workers. There are not many high performing work organizations in this country. It is one thing to expect the schools to change, but it is even more unlikely that employers will change their behaviors enough to provide high quality learning experiences on the job for young people. What leads us to believe that businesses would see a 16-or 17-year old as a potentially valuable source of labor?

"Also, our private sector lacks some of the institutional mechanisms that make

apprenticeship work in European countries. For example, some countries have industry associations or chambers of commerce that play two important functions: 1) They set industry-wide standards recognized nationwide that clearly state what it means to be qualified to do a job; 2) They monitor quality.

"In essence, the private sector monitors itself. We don't have these kinds of quality checks in this country. Our chambers of commerce and trade associations do not think of themselves this way. Any real move to shift the responsibility for youth education and training from the schools to places of employment will require great change from employers as well.

Parents and Students. "Will parents and students want something like this? Is this going to be attractive to them? So far, the answer to that question is yes. My organization has conducted focus groups where parents and kids across the country say they want better opportunity. Parents know that unless their kids are going to get a baccalaureate degree, they won't be well served. They also feel it is a good idea that a young person could earn while they learn and could enter an apprenticeship program with a connection to post-secondary education.

"I agree strongly with Jim Van Erden that a three-month, one-year, two-year, or any model would be better than what we've got. However, I believe the best help we can give young people in changing their economic outlook is through apprenticeship programs that span high school and postsecondary education—programs that do not terminate at high school graduation, but help a young person move into postsecondary education in a structured way. Parents affirm this. They believe that the only way to opportunity and status in our society is through postsecondary education. Not to make that possible is to build in failure from the start.

"Jobs for the Future has asked young people how they would feel about leaving their high school, having a longer school year, and maybe longer days. They've told us they're bored in their last two years of school. They are not challenged. They work up to 20 hours a week in jobs that have nothing to do with what they are learning in school or the directions they want to go in their lives. They want something like youth apprenticeship. They feel that they could rise to the challenge and it would be good for them. Some of them don't even care how much they would be paid, although that's not always the case.

Tracking. "Another major barrier that would be systems-based is the deep seated fear in our culture of tracking. Will these kinds of programs force our young people into premature career decisions that will forever penalize them because they do not get the broad exposure that young people deserve? My response is: 1) We already track young people, but we track them to failure. We need to figure out ways to track them to success. 2) Getting a young person into a particular system or pathway of learning need not be a negative experience, if we design our systems right.

Mechanisms for Change

"What will it take to implement change? It will take broad career counseling starting very early, not as late as tenth grade. It will take a real postsecondary connection and working hard against the gatekeepers in the four-year colleges and universities to make sure that the credits young people earn at the two-year college level are transferable later in their lives if they decide they want to leave a technical job and get a bachelor's degree in engineering or whatever it might be.

Design Considerations. "Having a modular system is a good idea. We don't want to design a journey system for young people in this country in which you study for three or four years, but do not get certified for this effort until you take a final exam. We probably want to think about what young people need to know, and how they can master particular modules leading to a series of credentials that they can show to employers and build upon as they acquire higher skills levels.

Programs could be designed to provide rotations among different industries or within a company. Programs could be designed so that a young person is exposed to all aspects of the industry, to different jobs in a company, and to the academic structure or curriculum undergirding the industry. One could start broadly in mastering a general technical area, and then specialize to particular occupations in the later years of the apprenticeship. A variety of methods needs to be developed.

New Assessments. "Continuous and good assessment is a way of avoiding tracking. We must figure out innovative and creative ways to help youth seeking immediate employment demonstrate that they know and can think as well as the academic or college-bound. We must

develop applied academics courses that support high level, critical thinking and content knowledge that are equal to some of the abstract, conceptual learning associated with college preparation and college learning.

Enabling Legislation and Existing Programs. "A major mechanism to force system change is the law. We need to focus on the framework of relevant legislation addressing such areas as child labor, teacher certification and transferability of credit across secondary and postsecondary institutions.

Arkansas' legislation, for example, has two ground-breaking aspects that support system change: 1)Demonstration programs can waive teacher certification requirements. 2) Credit that young people earn in the secondary part of the program is transferable to postsecondary education.

"Powerful initiatives can be propelled through the right enabling legislation and the proper alignment of existing programs. Some states are using pre-existing money to implement system change through Carl Perkins, JTPA or financial aid to post-secondary institutions in this country.

School Reform. "A third strategy is to link youth apprenticeship programming to mainstream academic reform including school restructuring and efforts to realize the National Education Goals. This strategy would also link youth apprenticeship to programming for adults. When we work with states, we urge them not to set up a youth apprenticeship program, but to set up a work-based learning system—ongoing professional and technical certification spanning the full working lives of people. Existing workers have as much right to effective education and training as young people. Adult workers will reject youth programs if they are structured in a way that threatens their job security or makes them spend a lot of time coaching student trainees and not receiving any recognition for it.

"These challenges may seem overwhelming, yet there are reasons for optimism coming out of the experiments in process.

Participant Reactions:

Paul Weckstein, Executive Director of the Center for Law and Education, and Jack Jennings, General Counsel for Education, House Committee on Education and Labor, reacted to the presentations.

PAUL WECKSTEIN's concerns included:

1) The need to create an environment where the types of reforms supportive of new approaches to employment preparation can flourish.

School restructuring is absolutely essential for creating an environment where these programs can flourish. However, schools face many impediments to creating a rationale in support of these kinds of programs, and actually implementing them. Among these impediments is the structure of the school day. "This structure does not support opportunities to work with other teachers or to pay attention to the research. It is important to focus on staff training needs if there is to be any systematic change."

2) The problems that must be addressed in superimposing these school-to-career initiatives onto a system already rife with inequalities, beginning in kindergarten and extending to the workplace.

Those inequalities have great impact on how these programs are interpreted and understood. Weckstein suggested that a system that forces critical choices on 16 or 17 year-olds is only prepping them for their purported station in life.

3) A certification process tied to many of the new school-to-employment proposals that does not adequately reflect the realities of skills and competencies used in many workplaces.

Few high performance work organizations exist in this country. According to *America's Choice: high skills or low wages!*, few workplaces currently utilize and reward the high level skills we want schools to teach. Therefore, most employers could not test those skills while still maintaining the same workplaces. As soon as there is a disparate impact on groups of students in hiring activities, a case for employment discrimination exists because there is no link between the job skills actually required and the employment criteria for hiring.

4) Inadequate links between training and employment preparation and actual jobs.

According to Weckstein, "When we talk about our 'employment and training' system, we really mean our 'training and training' system." Our fault has been in not seriously linking training with actual employment and the training function to employers. As a result, we have not truly explored the nature of school and employer partnerships. "It's hard for beggars to be

"There is no one model youth apprenticeship should take. But we need to get programs started. We need to help the places where this is starting to succeed and grow. We shouldn't wait until we've figured out everything before getting new efforts started. We need to pay attention to building an infrastructure of trust—that means trust with labor, teachers and parents. They have reasonable questions which we need to address.

"Finally, we need to give these efforts time to mature. Under the best of circumstances, it will be three or four years before the first sizeable numbers of young people graduate from these programs, and before we can document the difference this is making in their life choices. The whole country could give up on youth apprenticeship, but I think that would be a mistake. Despite the challenges involved in creating a comprehensive system of career pathways, we cannot afford not to try."

—Hilary Pennington

choosers, and school systems sometimes feel like beggars, but I think that some of the criteria for working with employers must be that they are willing to utilize the skills that we want kids to master."

5) What 'skills' means in this context.

Weckstein recommends that we look to the new Perkins Act for a working definition of skills. "The Perkins Act has a heavy focus on integrating academic and vocational education—not just integrating academic skills, but integrating the two forms of education. It also provides a definition of general occupational skills which includes experience in, and understanding of, all aspects of the industry that the student is preparing to enter, such as planning, finance, management, labor, technical and production skills, underlying principles of technology, community, health and safety, and environment. The 'all aspects of the industry' definition of general occupational skills is a way of holding the system honest and insuring that students get broad, transferrable skills that allow them to see the big picture and are not turned into throw-away workers when technology changes.

"This definition also provides a key vehicle for holding the academic side accountable. We don't just want the applied academics that fit this year's definition of a particular job. 'All aspects of the industry' opens up a wide range of possibilities for teachers to figure out how to really integrate academic and vocational education."

"School reform efforts have not paid attention to how young people are motivated and how they learn. It's evident that the vast majority of kids in high school are not motivated; we don't seem to be approaching them in ways that engage them for learning."

—Jack Jennings

JACK JENNINGS stressed the need for rethinking school reform. Fifteen years of school reform focusing on increased academic requirements in high school, along the line of more college prep type requirements for all students, has not resulted in increased SAT scores for the bottom 80 percent of students. "The top 20 percent of SAT participants continue to do quite well and go to the better colleges, are academically oriented, and have the motivation to do well in school, whereas the bottom 80 percent are languishing. They are the ones whose scores are dropping on the SAT's. They are the ones who should have been showing the results of these school reform efforts states have put in place for more math, English and other requirements. Yet they are not responding."

Jennings endorsed Pennington's point that interest in apprenticeship and school-to-work efforts could turn into another marginalized activity on the fringe for a few kids. To offset this possibility, he suggested the need to rethink school reform and the way we operate our high schools.

Many high school students are not motivated, especially in the last two years of high school, and all do not learn in the same way. Cognitive research has stressed this fact. "People are a bundle of different ways of learning, depending on the subject and the tasks."

To the extent that we try to change this context, we may have to concede that apprenticeship is a good idea, but only for a handful of kids. Tech prep may also be a good idea affecting another handful of young people. He suggested we rethink the basic ways that high schools operate and institute radical reforms. These reforms may involve having all students by age 16 decide whether they want a more abstract college-type preparation or a more job-oriented preparation, allowing of course, for a crossover between the two so as not to institute a rigid, two-track system. Without this type of commitment to radical change, we risk trivializing or marginalizing these efforts.

He then asked the participants of the seminar whether we are really at the point where we can recognize the fact that: (1) People learn in different ways and that there are honorable alternatives to the abstract way of learning; (2) Most young people are not motivated today, so we have to alter radically the way we operate our secondary schools if we want any of these school-to-work proposals to succeed.

"Are we at that point, or is this just another fad that's going to come in and then go out?"

Discussion:

Discussion centered on how to create a receptive context for school-to-employment transition programs and reconcile them with the goals of good vocational education and of systemic reform. Participant comments suggested that appropriate contexts must be created and some basic changes must be made. This involves making key changes at administrative levels of the government, motivating key players in work-based learning, changing the attitudes of parents and communities, and imbedding the goal of equity in any programs that we create.

Governance. School-to-work transition falls into the gap between education, labor and commerce policy. It is addressed within the committee structure of Congress and by the respective executive agencies. Since it is not a

clear responsibility of education, labor or commerce, it never gets the full attention of any committee or department and hence it is an idea that has never caught on. It is essential to make this issue central to some administrative body and not just a marginal operation of many. It was felt that this would be a hard call that must be made by government but that it would be necessary to designate one agency or office with this responsibility.

Parents and Communities. Locally, we must get the support and understanding of parents and communities in order to move ahead. As a society we do not support work-based learning because we have a real problem in valuing work. Parents do not want their children going into this type of program; academic educators for the most part do not value these programs; nor do higher education and teacher institutions. We do not value the dignity of work and that colors everything that we do.

Employers. One participant felt that young people are very motivated. "They spend 20, 30, 40 hours a week working, and these are both academic and vocational education students. They work at jobs they find by themselves at McDonald's, in grocery stores, and the retail trade. In spite of everything, they learn in these places. We need to find ways to put apprenticeship or work-based learning programs in these workplaces. These are the workplaces that want the youth, and some of them do want to work with the schools. I think we could do more to win them over to our plans for making workplaces, learning places for young people."

One participant noted, "As a country, we lack the common elements of a widespread apprenticeship system to which to append programs for young people. This is clear when we consider the scale of our present efforts. There are about 300,000 people currently involved in registered apprenticeships. Germany, with a quarter of our labor force, has 1.8 million apprentices. An equivalent proportion in the United states would be roughly 7.5 million apprentices. So it is difficult to say we really have an apprenticeship system in this country. This fact weakens any talk about qualifying the schools and getting labor and education together to develop and certify programs."

Another discussant urged that we attend to incentives for businesses to become involved in training if we are concerned with the low level of apprenticeship or work-based learning. "The Germans employ both voluntary and mandatory incentives. We do not need to rush out and immediately establish taxes, but we do need to look at a variety of applications to identify: (1) What would drive industry to employ the equivalent of 7.5 million apprentices? and (2) the lack of incentives that exist within the United States.

"We must think about what will motivate the two key players in apprenticeship programs—business and education—to initiate those types of programs. Going beyond state policy and state programs, we need to look into implementation at the local level. A good question to ask ourselves is what types of local entities exist that can bring these two forces together and try to initiate support for apprenticeship programs."

According to one participant, "A good starting point can be to focus on the teachers and help them understand more about the workplace. We should also get business people into the classroom—not superficially, but as real contributors and participants. If most business decision makers taught ten classes a year about work, their opinions of educational reform in schools and the problems they face would change radically. Additionally, each teacher in America should get a chance to work every summer with an employer."

Finally, a participant stressed that we should not create another system that relies on new certifications that have not existed before. "Let's get the certification with standards that employers agree they need and then allow whatever models that can be effectively connected and implemented to give our children that certification as quickly as possible."

Changes in Schools. Several participants wanted clarification about whether the work-based programs discussed were the same as good vocational education programs or something different. Presenters indicated that there are existing vocational education programs and models that come very close to the types of changes being discussed. They stressed that a focus on work-based learning should not merely be an appendage to a program. Rather, what is being discussed is fundamentally changing the curriculum in the school system to be more relevant to the work environment and providing a structured learning situation in the work environment.

According to Pennington, "This is different from vocational education or cooperative education which provides classroom experiences in the morning and work in the afternoon. The models being developed are more closely intertwined such that a teacher goes into the

"We are not talking about working and then going back to school. It is the integration between the two that is critical. It is the appreciation and understanding that while on the job, you can learn math and other subjects as well as while sitting in the classroom."

—Hilary Pennington

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workplace to see what her students are doing and learning and the employer comes into the classroom for the same reason. There is collaboration also when the curriculum and the work experiences are jointly developed.

"There are additional differences from typical vocational education situations: 1) The completion of a recognized industry certificate or qualification that is portable across companies; 2) Continuation in structured work and learning past high school into post-secondary education while earning credits and credentials.

"We are talking about taking the best of what exists in vocational education and then bridging it further with more recognized qualifications."

Another participant felt that we cannot have it both ways—developing a strong academic program for all young people as evidenced by the National Goals and the strategy of *America 2000*; and providing an alternative pathway that uses different strategies that do not rely on this academic base. "At present, you cannot go to a higher education institution in Michigan unless you have four years of math, four years of English and four years of social science. There is no room for further reform when we are demanding those kinds of studies. We cannot have four tracks going in simultaneous motion toward the same goals. We've got them running right on a collision course. It's not going to work!"

The response was that the approaches to reform are not incompatible if we first change both vocational education and basic education. By implanting high standards in each you build in compatibility and can then focus on systemwide goals. "The problem with the present vocational system is that we learn in isolation. Children need to see the relationships of the academic and the applied in a productive environment which allows them to understand the workplace and to profit from the adult mentoring that happens there."

Early guidance, academic and career counseling were cited as important elements that schools must institute: "The age of 16 is too late to motivate and offer a young person an option that they may not have thought about or for which they may not be prepared. There is no reason not to begin in the primary grades and infuse this knowledge into the whole school system. We also need to change the way guidance and counseling are structured at the high school level. Presently, high school counselors are only rewarded for the number of students they get into college. We need to put career and vocational counselors in place to work alongside guidance counselors."

Making Equity an Inherent Part of School-to-Work Programs. According to a participant, "Equity is often a marginal concern of efforts to improve the pathways of young people into the workplace. Efforts to ensure equity often become add-ons or special programs of a particular work-based approach. How do you build an inherent concern for gender equity in the construction industry?"

Pennington acknowledged the difficulty of this question, especially when you consider that the model being used—the German system—is very gender stereotyped. Also, the industries in the United States that are supporting these new youth programs—particularly, metalworking and health—are highly gender stereotyped occupational areas. "In many of the programs with which Jobs for the Future is working, extra efforts are being made in the earliest stages to try to convince young women that they ought to participate. Also we need to look at new, non-traditional, emerging industries and occupations, like environmental sciences and information technology that do not have gender stereotyped histories."

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II

BACKGROUND BRIEF:

Approaches from Other Countries on Preparing Youth for Employment

Seeking successful models to improve the passages through which youth prepare for productive employment, we look to the resources and traditions for training youth and adults in the classroom and in the workplace of our competitors and neighbors in the broader world community. Europe provides a number of successful models for study.

According to Nothdurft (*School Works*, 1989): "Several European nations have developed both strong universal systems for assuring that all young people obtain an education that includes specific preparation for work, and special programs for disadvantaged individuals and groups, and in some cases distressed communities, that have 'fallen through the cracks' of those universal systems. Both the universal and the special programs are designed to present young people with clear paths from school to work and a wide range of choices among these paths.

"These systems are in contrast to the many special programs and local demonstration projects for improving workforce competence which exist within the U.S., but which do not in their totality represent "coherent, universally available action programs capable of ensuring that school graduates are ready, willing, and able to enter and succeed in the working world." (1989, p. 6)

Among the weaknesses identified by the U.S. General Accounting Office in our own system which have kept us from reaching this goal are:

- primary education which allows some children to lag behind their peers in acquiring basic foundation skills and which does not adequately address their needs. This leads to poor achievement and school failure in the middle and secondary school years;
- limited assistance to youth in making the transition from school to work, including limited orientation to job requirements and employment opportunities;
- second-chance programs that reach only a small proportion of youth needing them and which generally provide limited skill training and academic remediation; and
- postsecondary, non-college training that is often poor quality and haphazard. (U.S. General Accounting Office, 1990)

These weaknesses contrast to the practices used in countries such as England, Germany, Japan and Sweden, which have national policies aimed at effective employment preparation of non-college youth. These practices include:

- an emphasis on student effort, not just ability, and expectation that all students will attain the necessary academic skills to perform effectively in postsecondary education or the workplace;
- active involvement by the employment community and the schools in guiding the transition from school to work, including a curriculum that builds in orientation to the world of work;
- training that is accompanied by certification of achievement of competency on nationally determined skill levels; and
- extensive investment by government in remedial education, training or job placement for jobless out-of-school youth.

Youth Education and Training in Germany, Denmark and Sweden

In Germany, Denmark and Sweden, vocational training begins after nine or ten years of compulsory basic education. During the years of

compulsory education, students receive an introduction to working life through formal or informal courses and experiences in the workplace. After compulsory education is completed, vocational training is usually one of several options of further education available for students to pursue and it represents a major pathway to employment for large segments of the youth population. Information on technical schools and career preparation is routinely made available to students and parents by the government and schools to help students make informed choices about subsequent education and training. It is, however, the responsibility of the youth in consultation with the family to make application to subsequent education and to seek out apprenticeship training placements.

In Germany, students who do not immediately pursue university enter the dual system (about two-thirds of a youth cohort). Apprenticeship, or the dual system, is a major component of the country's general system of educating and preparing youth for adult roles. It is a system involving part-time attendance at vocational schools and part-time on-the-job training in a work environment. Time spent in vocational school is devoted to theoretical courses supportive of the work experience in addition to general education courses.

Apprentices sign a contract with a government-approved company that has met requirements relating to the status of equipment, ratio of apprentices to specialist staff, and suitability and professional training of instructors. The training firms provide basic and specialized training, the necessary training facilities and materials, release time for the trainee to attend vocational school, and trainee wages. Additionally, the company must not use the trainee in any work which is not compatible with the object of the training. To misuse the trainee in any way means loss of recognition as a training firm by the government.

At the conclusion of the apprenticeship, trainees who successfully complete competency-based performance examinations receive credentials for entry into the craft, trade or profession. The apprenticeship contract, however, does not obligate the firm to offer employment to the trainee at the conclusion of the training.

In addition to the traditional apprenticeship model as used in Germany, Denmark has instituted another model which begins with a year of school-based basic instruction and courses related to a vocational field. During this period, each student must choose a specific line of study and enter into a contractual agreement with a qualified training firm. The next two years consist of alternating school and on-the-job training. At the end of the sequence, students have experienced all related disciplines of a trade or profession including theoretical and on-the-job aspects while continuing to take basic education courses. Students receive a training wage during the second and third year of training. Students are tested at the end of the training period and employers are held responsible for students' performance. Youth who do not successfully pass these examinations can remain at the training firm at full employee wages until they pass the examination.

Through a payroll fee, all employers support an employers' fund for partial reimbursement to companies for youth training wages and for the time when youth are in school-based training. This policy is designed to increase employer participation in youth training since all companies pay into the fund but only those who have apprentices benefit.

The Swedish system also employs a year of basic vocational training after which students seek out training firms and receive work-based and school-based training. During the first year, students are entitled to a student allotment available for all youth while in school. In subsequent years, they receive trainee wages from employers. After the training is completed, trainees get full certification and full rights as workers in the trade, including employment at full wages. Without a certificate, an individual can only receive 80 percent of normal worker wages.

In each of the countries, some form of full-time vocational school training is offered in addition to apprenticeship-type models for some career fields. This option, similar to our own model of occupational preparation, rounds out a range of educational choices—choices developed in keeping with the educational demands of an occupation, the availability of training facilities and placements, and the traditions associated with a particular occupation or industry.

Regardless of the initial choice—education that leads to a university education or through the numerous paths of vocational training—opportunities exist for changes in career preparation areas and for eventual access to higher education through continuing education and other preparation routes. Also, no matter what the option, youth must be either employed or in some form of schooling.

This process is best exemplified in the context of actual students and the choices made in the process of employment preparation and lifelong learning. Steven Hamilton in *Apprenticeship for Adulthood* (1990) documents the choices made by a German student, Hermann Stockhausen, who achieved the highest score in his state on the qualifying examination for apprentice plumbers. Instead of accepting immediate employment as a plumber, he chose to continue his formal education at a full-time vocational school because he had developed an interest in physics and math in the context of his apprenticeship education. These were interests he had not possessed and aptitudes he had not evidenced while in intermediate school.

"When math and science were presented in terms of such practical problems as the angle at which a drain pipe functions properly, his interest was piqued and he excelled. His further schooling will make him even more attractive to employers, but he hopes to continue in a Fachhochschule, and eventually to become an engineer. Hermann did not need double qualification to get a job, but the availability of vocational relevant schooling first revealed his proficiency and then offered him an avenue toward higher-level schooling and advanced occupational status." (p.147)

Among the German system's most positive elements, Hamilton lists:

- exploiting workplaces and other community settings as learning environments;
- linking work experience to academic learning;
- giving youth constructive roles as workers and learners simultaneously; and
- fostering close relations between youth and adult mentors.(p.140)

To provide greater transferability to a U.S. context, Hamilton stresses the need to couple these elements with the American virtues of flexibility, diversity and openness by incorporating opportunities for exploratory apprenticeships (as early as the middle school years), school-based apprenticeships (involving paid employment in specific occupations but retaining a primary focus on school-related learning), and traditional work-based apprenticeships. (Ibid, p. 140-141).

Because these European models are intricately imbedded in their respective cultures and are the products of centuries of development and fine tuning that continue through the present day in response to emerging national needs and challenges, extensive adaptation and culling of essential components will be necessary for application in the U.S. context. The lessons learned by the British and Australians in their efforts to restructure their systems of youth education and training to provide better employment opportunities have been offered as models more instructive for our study (Vickers, 1991).

British and Australian Reforms

In response to high levels of secondary education school-leaving and limited opportunities for youth in the labor market in the 1970s, the British and Australian governments sought to increase the overall participation of 16- to 18-year olds in some form of education and training. The British created an extensive system of firm-based training supported through employment subsidies. The Australians sought to increase student retention rates and the numbers of youth entering vocational colleges by diversifying the upper secondary curriculum. The emphasis was on improved teaching and assessment strategies, not dilution of the academic quality of courses.

The two strategies resulted in drastically different outcomes. The British employment-based solution resulted in little impact on the school curriculum and lack of regulation to ensure that student credentials earned in the workplace were portable between firms or articulated with the formal education system. The Australian effort resulted in changes in the structure of basic education to meet the needs of a greater number of the youth cohort and to increase the high school graduation rate. It also resulted in new patterns of coordination among education, employment and social security agencies of government and state-level curriculum reform.

PRESENTATIONS:

Approaches from Other Countries on Preparing Youth for Employment

Presenters for this session were Margaret Vickers and Stephen F. Hamilton. Vickers is a training policy consultant whose work over the past 25 years includes teaching, research and leadership positions at both the state and federal levels in Australia and for the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in Paris. At the time of the presentation, she was on leave from her position as senior policy analyst for the Australian Commonwealth Government while completing a doctorate in education at Harvard.

Hamilton is associate professor of Human Development and Family Studies at Cornell University. A major portion of his responsibility involves developing youth programs. His research investigates the interaction of schools, community and work during the transition from adolescence to adulthood. He currently directs a demonstration youth apprenticeship program in Broome County, New York and is engaged in research regarding informal teaching and learning in the workplace. He has also investigated school-to-career transition systems in Sweden, Denmark, Austria and Switzerland.

MARGARET VICKERS

Vickers addressed several questions raised at the last seminar session:

1) What should be done for young people who are not completing college degrees?
2) Should we create programs for them that explicitly focus on preparation for work?
3) Can we create such programs that are not tracking systems and that do not lower expectations and limit student choice?
4) What is the role of learning in the workplace and for whom should it be applied?
5) Can we develop the learning potential of the workplace merely by restructuring schools?

According to Vickers, "Youth apprenticeships demand changes in industrial policy as well as changes in education policy. We need to push a little harder to identify those changes. Since a number of youth apprenticeship demonstrations are emerging in the United States, the question then is what is needed to go beyond demonstrations and establish a *system* of youth apprenticeships? What support would be required to create such a system?"

The U.S. Secondary School System vs. Systems in Other Nations

Of the 26 industrialized member countries of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), the United States alone has limited options of secondary school education or pathways to employment and continued education. The other countries have separate kinds of schools and multiple pathways. In most cases, students do not diverge to these separate schools until the age of 15 or 16. Most Americans would view these practices as inequitable and a way of tracking individuals. In some cases, that is true.

"In Germany, there is a tendency for children to be tracked from a very young age, although Professor Hamilton will tell you this trend is changing and becoming more democratized. Germany provides a range of secondary-level schools including academic gymnasia, technical gymnasia, full-time technical and vocational schools and part-time vocational schools linked

to the apprenticeship system. A large segment of the 70 percent of a youth cohort in the "dual system" are actually in full-time schools.

"In Austria and Switzerland the arrangements are similar to those in Germany. In France, when students have finished the first cycle of secondary education called college, they take an exam and then they go to academic lycees, lycees professionalles (for technical and vocational studies) or apprenticeships.

"Australia, like the United States, is a country with a strong commitment to equal opportunity. We encourage all our students to complete the common high school to the point of paying a living allowance of up to $50 per week to youth 16 years and older from low income homes to encourage them to remain at school. Nevertheless, we know that some young people will drop out. We therefore provide alternative pathways in technical and further education colleges and through apprenticeships.

The Quality of Options

"Available options are not always low-status. This is not a question of tracking because students are not steered to a particular track. If one prefers, there are other options to high school. Students can graduate through the technical and further education system, then go to higher education. Many apprentices earn more than those with high school diplomas who enter the clerical and retail occupations.

"With 75 percent of U.S. young people completing high school, you may believe that you are educating a larger proportion of young people than most other industrialized countries. However, this is no longer true. There is rapid growth in graduation rates in other countries—65 percent of Australians now graduate from high school as do about 65 percent of the French. In both countries, the final assessments are specified by state examination boards and involve standardized, competency-based examinations that carry the same credibility across the country. In both countries, an additional 15 to 20 percent or more of the population is taking alternative courses through technical/vocational education and apprenticeships. A major challenge for the United States is to look at these second-tier pathways through the lens of experience overseas, which provides well-structured pathways for dropouts.

"Although you may think there is something in the U.S. system for everyone, the options for drop-outs are neither systematic nor universal. In some places, good vocational schools exist, but not always. Some of your youth get into JTPA programs or acquire the GED. There are also private proprietary schools. Some students go to community colleges, although I am not sure that community colleges welcome young at-risk youth. What exists seems to vary tremendously in quality and sometimes in price.

"Both Britain and Australia have problems similar to your own. As recently as 15 years ago Australia did not have a technical and further education system. There was a hodge podge of private schools and mechanics institutes, technical schools, and the like. A decision was made to systematize these pieces, put them all under a common name, and eliminate the large number of competing bureaucracies that run these separate bits and pieces. In this manner, the technical and further education system was created.

"The seminar session began by asking whether programs should be created that explicitly focus on preparation for work and what should be done specifically for young people who are not immediately college bound. In light of experience both here and overseas, it would be shortsighted to simply divide the population into two parts. There is a middle path leading to careers that require at least two years of postsecondary training. For a number of reasons, including technological change and changes in the work organization, these types of jobs are growing rapidly.

"Work-based learning should not be seen as something only appropriate for potential drop-outs or for lower ability groups. Situating learning in the context in which it is most useful is good pedagogy. We need to look at contextualized learning across the curriculum. This is a new and exciting thing to do.

"In the European systems, however, contextualized learning is almost exclusively associated with apprenticeship systems while academic learning remains quite abstract. So why it is that Americans are flirting with the German approach? There are good reasons. The German system is famous for its well-structured use of workplace learning. Can the United States import this model?

"If the United States tried to replicate the German model, many things that make it work would be left out because they do not exist in the context of the United States."

The Importability of Foreign Models

"During the 1980s, Britain attempted to borrow the German model. It was a half-hearted attempt, since it left out most of the elements that made the German system work. The real problem arises when one country attempts to import another country's training system whole cloth and implement it on a massive scale without paying attention to the infrastructure on which it is based. Like biological organisms, training systems can behave very differently when they are plucked out of their native ecosystem or environment."

"The British Youth Training Scheme was partly inspired by the following features, but the contrasts show why the dual system in Germany delivers quality work-based learning while Britain's Youth Training Scheme could not:

1) In Germany, regulation of an industry occurs at the highest and lowest levels. The federal government proposes framework regulations which specify the standards and the contexts of programs for all apprenticed occupations. These are negotiated with the social partners. Industry and craft chambers engage in self-regulation, and craft chambers have important roles in setting and administering examinations. There is also negotiation at the *lander* or state level concerning the complementarity of work-based and school-based learning.
2) Firm-based training is usually provided, or at least supervised, by Meisters who have a very high level of craft knowledge as well as pedagogical training.
3) Internal training in German firms is high quality because (a) there are framework regulations for approximately 360 occupations, and (b) time spent training people is part of the Meister's contractual obligation.
4) Inter-firm training centers are used. These are interesting innovations that the United States could borrow. They are almost totally financed by the business sector and their creation is based on a local agreement of a group of employers. The centers have extremely high quality equipment. A rotation of Meisters from business teaches in these centers.
5) The dual system is an articulated one. German apprentices spend part of their time at work and part at the school, although some large firms have internal schools. Another arrangement is for some students to divide their time between work and an inter-firm training center.

   In Britain, only a small proportion of the trainees in the Youth Training Scheme were involved in any form of educational institution. As a result, those who completed the youth training system were rarely qualified to progress sequentially in the formal education sector. As the Youth Training Scheme in Britain developed, the British government refused to provide the amount of money that would have been required for the technical colleges to expand their offerings. Hence, what was supposed to be formal on-the-job training became training provided within the firms. The resulting trainee qualifications were highly specific, narrow, firm-related, and not portable or creditable outside of the firms providing them.
6) There are consistent and ongoing negotiations among the social partners and with the assistance of the BiBB, the Federal Office of Vocational Training, which

INDUSTRY IN BRITAIN AND THE UNITED STATES

The industrial ecosystems in Britain and the United States are similar, according to Margaret Vickers:

- Both are deregulated.
- There are few industry-wide training agreements, occupations or industries with common assessments and standards (the health industry is perhaps an exception), or mechanisms of negotiating agreements within the industry.
- Contrasted with German, Scandinavian and Japanese firms, British and U.S. firms have a greater number of poorly skilled workers at the front line and more Taylorist work organizations. In this environment, high quality in the workplace is difficult to cultivate.
- Most British and American firms have no employee positions equivalent to the Meister (master craftsperson) and few workers trained to that level.

provides a research base and a locus for these negotiations.

None of these regulatory structures were part of the British industrial environment. Nevertheless, Britain put about one-quarter of her 16- to 18-year olds into work-based training and left it to the employers to decide what to do. Although youth training is a completely employer-controlled system, even the Confederation of British Industry now acknowledges that it is not delivering the skills the national economy needs.

What Can Experience Teach Us?

Industry Regulation. "Can you envision industry in the United States subjecting itself to government regulation? Probably not, but maybe the United States can achieve a degree of collective self-regulation among employers in certain industries. Maybe employer groups in certain firms will voluntarily agree to collective self-regulation, and apprenticeships—in the systemic sense—would then become an option leading to careers in particular occupations.

Links to the Formal Education System. "Suppose this option existed across a wide range of occupations, how would the firm-based training system link with the formal education system? The assumption in the last seminar discussion was that a youth apprenticeship system in the United States can be grafted onto American high schools. By way of contrast, every other country that provides apprenticeships on a substantial scale links work-based learning with a separate, second-tier college system.

"In the United States, cooperatives, partnerships and some youth apprenticeship demonstrations have been structured so that some students have a few hours per week of work experience. Moving beyond this arrangement toward a true apprenticeship creates great difficulties for high schools to schedule some of their students for only half-time attendance.

"These institutions are designed to provide full-time classroom education for the majority. As a result, conflicts and organizational questions arise: What do you do about financing student places if the student is only in school half-time? How should the teachers be paid? Does the whole school go on different timetables?

"One solution is to graft the school-based learning process onto the work-based arrangements and provide flexible scheduling—and evening classes designed to complement the workplace.

"There is a role in the United States for a youth apprenticeship system provided we can identify industries where employers are prepared to participate in the collective self-regulation needed to support standardized, high quality learning experiences in the workplace. Creating such a system would be very different from creating a collection of demonstration programs.

Conclusion

"Looking through the lens of overseas experience, your country has problems on both the education and industry side. On the industry side, collective self-regulation is needed to bring about occupation-wide agreements. Without these agreements, each particular program would have to be individually crafted with teachers and employers observing each other's work, creating curriculums, negotiating content, respective roles, and a recognized certificate. On the education side, your schools are not designed for articulation with the workplace. Individually crafted solutions are emerging through demonstration projects, but these need to be reinvented at every site.

"Without a well-organized second-tier college system, it is difficult to see how students can benefit from the creation of youth apprenticeships. These problems are daunting. Unless you make some progression in solving them, you will not have an American youth apprenticeship system but only a collection of demonstration programs.

STEPHEN HAMILTON

Hamilton began his presentation by addressing the issue of tracking. He then discussed the new realities of democratization, technological change and global competition for the U.S. and Western European countries. He concluded with a description of the demonstration project which he developed and directs in Broome County, New York.

"In this country, there is a visceral fear of tracking that translates into a message that any road can take any kid anywhere. The result is that many young people do not know where they are going. One of the benefits of boundaries is that they also function as gateways. If you do not have boundaries, then you can go wherever you

want. But you run the risk of not knowing where you are, how to get where you want to go, or even where you are going. If you don't know where you're going, any road will take you there."

Democratization, Technological Change and Global Competition

Three large-scale trends are applicable to the United States and to the countries of western Europe. One is rapid technological change. Another is increasing global competition—German, French and Swedish car manufacturers are trying to cope with Japanese competition just as desperately as are Americans. The third is democratization. In the countries of western Europe and North America, this trend is evidenced in the increasingly successful demand for rights on the part of women and minority groups. This trend affects European educational systems as much as it does our own.

"The notion that the United States is the epitome of democracy and all other countries are less democratic is simply uninformed. These countries are responding to the same three trends. We can look at them and see how they are dealing with these challenges and learn new approaches and new ideas from them.

"If we look at German apprenticeship, we need to look at the way in which it is being adapted to these new realities of democratization, technological change and global competition and not get hung up on the old-style apprenticeship. Many European countries are assiduously trying to update and upgrade their systems. Thus, our various societies begin to look more alike than we used to. European responses to these trends make their systems more acceptable to us than their systems were 20 years ago.

"What makes a school-to-career transition system responsive to this complex of technological, economic change and greater democratization? What makes such a system acceptable politically and function economically? We can contrast two types of systems: (1) labor market-driven; and (2) choice-driven.

Labor Market vs. Choice-Driven Systems

"The German system is labor market-driven. Employers decide what apprentices they will train in what occupations.

"When I was in Germany in 1983-1984, I thought the printing industry would be a good one to study because I assumed that the skills would be identical on both sides of the Atlantic. I soon learned that it would not be possible to observe apprentices in printing in 1983 because there were none. The German printing industry was in the process of computerizing. The industry had made the decision not to take on any new apprentices because the workforce would be downsized and training resources were needed to retrain the existing workforce. This illustrates how the labor market regulates the training and entry of apprentices.

"In contrast to this labor market-driven system, the United States has a choice-driven system. Young people are able to decide what they want to learn despite the realities of the employment market. In my area of the country where vocational training is mostly provided in a regional training center, 80 young women may wish to be cosmetologists. The fact that only three or four are hired every year has nothing whatsoever to do with the actions of the educational system.

Permeability and Transparency

"**Permeability** describes the ease with which people move through the school-to-career transition system, both vertically and horizontally. Is it possible to move into school and then out of school, into one career path and then into another? If this is possible and relatively easy, the system is permeable. **Transparency** describes how easily one can see through the system—not move through it—to determine which path will take you to your chosen destination. Oftentimes these two desirable features, both of which would characterize an ideal system, are in competition with each other.

"For example, the German system is highly transparent and impermeable. Young people decide at the age of 15 or 16 which career path they will pursue and they pretty much have to stay on that path. Democratization has led to some crossovers that did not exist before, but problems still exist.

"I interviewed an auto mechanic in his third year of training. When I asked whether he would be employed as an auto mechanic when he finished, he said "no". He had decided auto body repair was the really creative thing to do. But to make the change from auto mechanic to auto

"To give young people free choice by allowing them to prepare for unemployment is ridiculous. We need to take greater account of the labor market, even if we do not go so far as to drive the entire system by labor market demand."

—Stephen Hamilton

body repair, he had to start a new apprenticeship. He would go through three more years of work experience and three more years of part-time vocational schooling in order to qualify to repair the outside of the car instead of the inside of the car. This is an example of impermeability and rigidity—something we would not wish to reproduce in the U.S.

"The trade-off is that at the age of 15, any young person in Germany who asks, "What do I have to do to become an auto mechanic?" or "What do I have to do to become an electronics technician?" can get a straightforward answer to guide his or her career preparation. That is something that does not exist in the United States. If you ask how to become a brain surgeon, you can get a straight answer. You must go to school, get good grades, get into a good college, get into a good medical school, pass your medical boards, etc. How do you become an electronics technician in the United States? How do you become an auto mechanic? 'Any road can take you there.' This is a bit of an exaggeration, but in fact, many roads can take you there.

"This lack of transparency in our system results in confusion and an absence of motivation for students who do not plan to enter selective colleges. How well they do in high school does not impact their career path in any way that they can see. They do not necessarily get better jobs when they graduate from high school if they get better grades. They do not know the best education/work experience combination to get them where they want to go. Therefore, they have no way of preparing themselves, making a plan for the future and following that plan.

"One way of considering how European systems can be adapted in the United States is by looking at countries with systems that are different from Germany's in ways that seem more acceptable in the United States. The Scandinavian countries are good models because they have very strong democratic traditions and have adapted previously rigid systems in more democratic ways.

"Switzerland has a system that is very close to the German system but with the added complication of a very strong federal system. Each of the cantons in Switzerland, and sometimes the cities and the sub-cantons, has its say in the way the system is run, thus contributing to variety. Recently, the permeability of their system has been increased by upgrading the educational credentials that apprentices are able to earn. This was done in an interesting way.

"Many apprenticeships in Switzerland last four years, although options still exist for three- and two-year apprenticeships. Usually, Swiss apprentices attend school one day-and-a-half a week. For Germany apprentices, the time in school is usually between a day and a day-and-a-half for a two- or three-year period. In Switzerland, attending school two days each week during a four-year apprenticeship qualifies youth for entry into what we would think of as a technical college or postsecondary institution. The extra half day of school over a period of four years simultaneously increases their base of academic knowledge and skills and improves their credentials for postsecondary schooling. This change was made with the stipulation that employers would continue to pay the apprentices the same amount even though they were working a half day a week less.

"In contrast, in Austria where small employers are dominant, apprentices are in school one day per week. Employers are deadset against any increased school time because they believe the apprenticeship work is more important than their schooling.

Another interesting thing the Swiss have done—especially in light of the fact that they have not been terribly welcoming to guest workers—is to devise a GED equivalent for apprenticeship. A person, whether Swiss or foreign born, who has acquired informally the skills related to a particular occupation can take the examination and receive the same credential that he or she would have received for going through the system step-by-step. This is quite dramatic for a German-speaking country. I think this is a very good move and a good exemplar.

"In Denmark, permeability has been improved by reorganizing occupations in order to reduce the number of separate tracks. The Danes have gone from 350 to about 85 basic occupations. They have a branching structure that allows for specialization after a foundation of common knowledge and skills has been laid. This foundation cuts across a broad occupational area.

"This is a very rational way to organize this kind of a system. It also provides the following benefits. If you get into the wrong branch, instead of going back to the beginning and starting over, you go back a couple of branches and across and then back up. Another benefit is the broad foundation of knowledge which is important for adaptability to technological change. If you only have a narrow band of knowledge and skills and the technology changes, you must start over again. If you have

the fundamentals, you have the foundation on which to build the new knowledge and skills required of new technology and career changes.

"These modifications on the traditional pyramid system point the way to creating an American style apprenticeship system that lays out pathways for young people. It is necessary to set some boundaries because you cannot have paths without boundaries, but the system need not be so rigid as to reduce either individual flexibility or the dynamism that characterizes our economy.

Broome County Project

"In the Broome County project, which I direct with my wife Mary Agnes, we focus on developing broad occupational areas rather than specific job skills. This represents a challenge, particularly for employers. They have a hard time thinking in terms of broad occupational areas because they think in terms of job slots.

"We have tied our program to the local community college by presenting it to high school juniors as a four-year program that will lead them through two years of community college. This is one of the strengths of the U.S. system—we already have an adaptable, flexible higher education system that allows for this kind of openness to a wide range of students and a wide range of programs.

Participant Reactions:

Pierce Quinlan, Executive Vice President, National Alliance of Business, and Madeleine Hemmings, Executive Director, National Association of State Directors of Vocational Technical Education Consortium, reacted to the presentations.

PIERCE QUINLAN spoke from an employer's perspective and related the concern of National Alliance of Business (NAB) members about (1) the absence of common standards in our training operations and (2) the lack of consistency of quality among schools and community colleges—both within the states as well as across states. This is a special problem for large multi-state companies. It also creates real problems for individual firms that do not have their own training departments.

He then described a pilot program with which NAB is involved that includes major companies, community colleges and high schools. "We are beginning to experience some success in changing curriculum of a vocational facility to put it in concert with the workplace occupational demands of Sears. However, we have demonstrated over the last 30 years that we are remarkably good at running successful pilot programs and remarkably bad at making any kind of systemic or fundamental change."

Before trying to translate the experiences of the European countries to the United States, Quinlan suggested that we begin to develop a road map by looking to the specific facets and resources of our society. Among the vital issues to be considered are:

1) Putting in place a broad system of incentives or requirements for the business community to invest in training, and identifying and eliminating disincentives. Related to this is the need to broaden the receptivity of employers to the need to upgrade their labor force and the need to reorganize their work.

   "We should start improving our human capital in the same manner we consider our physical capital. We also have to look at the capacities of our tax structure to support training.

   "We know from experience that the front line supervisors are our weakest link. Also our experience has been that the front line supervisors are one of the largest problems that employers have in dealing with a diverse workforce, because the workforce does not look the same as the front line supervisors. We have learned from the school reform movement and the development of site-based management that if we do not provide sufficient amounts of career development to our teachers and to our administrators in the schools, they will fail. At the same time, if we do not provide some means for upgrading the caliber of the front line supervisors and the front line managers, then these processes or new approaches to apprenticeships in the United States will also fail."
2) Redirecting existing programs and resources to support training. "Our largest manpower program is the unemployment insurance system. We will probably expend $20-$25 billion this year on this system, but it is not used as a training system in the United States. It is time we reexamine it to focus on training, retraining and upgrading. It is one of few employer-funded sources we

can look to for support of the kinds of changes we seek."

3) Developing new terms for work-based learning. "Because unionization in the private sector has diminished greatly and because there is need for broad understanding and acceptance for the type of training and workplace restructuring required, new terms are needed for work-based learning. We cannot call it apprenticeship because, unfortunately, that has a negative connotation among many employers."

"Large firms in German-speaking countries do not view apprenticeship and the journeyman certificate as terminal training. It is considered initiation into lifelong learning. The function of the apprenticeship is not to set somebody up for a lifetime of doing the same thing but to provide a foundation upon which the further education that will be required every five to ten years to adapt to technology or to a different career is based. Apprenticeship is a form of education, not job training. In the ideal, it is not training for a specific job. It is an alternate form of education which is required for any kinds of changes of labor."

—Stephen Hamilton

MADELEINE HEMMINGS: The United States vocational education system is interested in the successful development of new school and employment partnerships. "There are a number of very successful efforts but they only work where you have a strong employer relationship and the willingness to offer the kind of training valued and needed within the business organization."

She identified the absence of standards—the lack of a foundation of shared expectations—as the cause of many failed partnerships with businesses. At the root of these failed partnerships is the uncertainty of what the relationship between employers and schools is supposed to be. There is no clear definition of what skills students will come to the workplace with nor is it clear what students will learn while at the workplace or if learning will occur at all. Some students will receive good training because of the abilities people possess in particular businesses. But because there are no standards or common expectations of training, good programs are local and happenstance.

According to Hemmings, the most important question is how to institutionalize these efforts. She recommended using organizational development experts. "We need to ask them what steps should occur and which are going to make things different from the way we have always done them. We should talk to some of the businesses that have made substantial organizational changes, such as Texas Instruments, and ask how they effected change. We need to look to large institutions that had to break down some of the traditional ways of working in order to be able to succeed. I do not think there is any disagreement about the fact that we have to make certain changes."

Among the recommended changes are:

1) Reaching out to young people and making them successful in ways that have not been done before. This involves doing what is necessary to properly engage young people in academic and occupational learning.
2) Changing our own organizations to make them more flexible, including making the kinds of adjustments that would structurally allow the education system to complement better work-based learning.

Hemmings challenged Vickers' earlier point about the lack of flexibility within U.S. schools to provide instruction for a half-day or some other period of time. According to Hemmings, there are institutions all over the country that provide half-day instruction. For example, there are high schools that serve the postsecondary needs of people which have to go to school at night. There are high schools that serve as much as five times the number of day or school-age population at night.

Hemmings indicated strongly that our institutions can rise to meet evolving needs. We need to show a certain amount of flexibility while still retaining accountability for delivery of the educational products expected of us.

Discussion:

Participants posed a number of questions to clarify their understanding of the various youth education and employment preparation schemes used abroad and to develop strategies for putting in place the components needed for an American version.

Several questions dealt with the need to provide on-going training and retraining of workers due to rapidly changing technology, and whether there is a diminishing number of careers for which apprenticeship is an appropriate training strategy.

"If the labor market in the United States continues to look the way it does, the need for apprenticeship will be primarily in occupations at the technician level. Despite the number of occupations that require technician level education there are no clear pathways to those occupations. Community colleges, military training, and proprietary schools try to train for these areas but there is clearly a need for a better system. Under present conditions these types of jobs represent about 10 percent of the labor force.

"According to the *America's Choice* report, however, if nothing changes, the economy will decline. We need high performance work organizations that both demand and take

advantage of highly skilled workers. If our employers shift into that mode, then apprenticeship will be much more important and more widely used."

Vickers: "There are few occupations in which you get just one opportunity for training and then you are set for life. Research shows that the more educated a person is, the more likely that person is to receive on-the-job training. We also know that the person who does not have the ability to engage in self-teaching, or to learn through written materials or cooperatively in the work setting is a liability on the labor market these days.

"Second, most apprenticeship systems, including the Australian system, have increased the amount of in-school education to provide for a more broadly educated individual and worker. Third, apprenticeship is not narrow imitated learning for particular skills operations with the hand. It is a way of learning with contextualized thinking. Our best lawyers and doctors have been trained through apprenticeship. It is an instructional method."

The Context and Rationale for Increasing In-school Learning Components of Apprenticeship Programs

Presenters were asked to describe the content and rationale for increasing in-school learning, including what is being increased—foundation skills, communications skills, mathematics skills?

Vickers recommended the book, *In the Age of the Smart Machine*, which talks about how operations that were once performed with the hands are now performed conceptually. "Originally, apprenticeship relied on imitation. You watched somebody do something and you practiced and completed those operations until you had mastered that skill perfectly. It was enough to be in the workplace and on the work line. More and more of the operations that the hand performed can now be performed while sitting at a computer screen and going through a symbolic operation. This often involves movement out of the work context and into a classroom context, but at the same time you do not want to create or rely exclusively on an abstract classroom context. You want to contextualize immediately the whole set of operations through to production of goods or services.

"One of the problems with schooling is that students do not have opportunities to rehearse the creation of products. Ideally, students should have opportunities to create products in school. These products should be rapidly scored by a teacher and students then allowed to re-edit or redo them.

"The strength of apprenticeship is its connection to production. There is, however, value in providing distance from the workbench and opportunities for modeling and testing theories and ideas in classrooms. It is not an attempt to take work out of context. Also because the matrix of symbolical operations is likely to change, learning and some instruction require multiple examples of any kind of activity in order to build in the flexibility to move from system."

Outcomes of Participation in the German Dual System

Another participant asked about follow-up information on individuals who had gone through the German dual system. According to Hamilton, "The apprenticeship system is very well studied. It is a common focus of academic work. One study found that apprenticeship training is a good initiation to a career and to career diversification.

"There is both horizontal and vertical mobility. Journey workers who have their apprenticeship certificates are able to enter with further training into higher levels of the occupational hierarchy. Having certification in one area also opens doors in other areas that may or may not be related. Employers will always hire someone that has been trained as an apprentice over someone who has no training at all. These studies document good career prospects for people who are prepared as apprentices.

"Data show that two years after an apprenticeship is completed, about half of apprentices are still in their original training firms. If at least half of those who left their training firm are still in a related occupation, then about a quarter or so of entrants wind up in other career streams. Ten years later, one would see more variation.

Many occupations do not have apprenticeship programs so they hire people trained for other occupations. In those cases, the initial apprenticeship is treated as the first step upon which further education is added."

The Use of Standards and Assessments in the British System

One participant asked what Britain has done to correct its failures in adapting the German system. According to Vickers, "They are trying to establish a system of nationally accepted standards/qualifications so that whatever training young people receive in the workplace will be portable and recognized."

When asked whether the British are considering the use of portfolios, Vickers indicated that the word portfolio is more closely associated with school reforms; however, both are based on performance-based assessment. "The National Council of Vocational Qualifications is attempting to take a body of very disorganized and different vocational and occupational qualifications across Britain and tie them into recognized certificate titles with associated performance assessments.

"There are two criticisms being leveled against the way they are doing this: (1) this is being undertaken inside firms without any external surveillance; and (2) the standards being set are too low."

The Nationalization of Job Competencies and Standards in the U.S.

According to one participant, the perception is that industries and companies in this country are now willing to talk about some nationalization of job competencies. "Is this a correct perception about the mindset of industry? Is there need for a federal or national role to encourage industries to systematize job competencies? What can we learn from other countries? How have they gone about systematizing job competencies?"

Vickers felt that some of the most fertile ground exists with the national associations that represent large numbers of employers, such as bankers or the automotive service association. There are possibilities in the near term to work with these groups to come up with broad standards for their particular industries and members. They are driven in part by the need to continue to provide service to their members. We should identify the 20 or 30 major associations where there are growth opportunities and begin to work with them.

Vickers cited the work of the National Alliance of Business with Sears to create student pathways in the appliance repair technician area. "There is a whole career ladder for these jobs and they are not repetitive jobs because they involve electronics. They require a strong conceptual background. The objective is to work in one location with Sears and then broaden nationally. Sears sets the industry standards. The minute that Sears went from servicing only their own house brand to servicing all appliances made in the United States or anywhere, they changed the whole nature of the work. A strategy we may want to pursue is to work with bell weather companies in establishing standards for a whole industry.

"Among the necessary government activities related to industry standard setting are:

- providing incentives for industries to set standards (or is there enough motivation now in various industries that this will happen anyway?). This could probably be expedited by incentives related to the tax system or accounting standards.
- convening industries—getting them together to talk and giving them technical assistance—to help achieve agreement.
- playing a true leadership role by using the bully pulpit to raise awareness and using its research and information exchange capability.

"It is important to start the systems change process from the outcome end—from the identification of the job competencies individuals in a particular career or industry should possess, regardless of how or where these competencies are acquired (whether through a vocational school, a community college, private institution or work experience). Working back from outcomes, we do not get into the turf battles that ensue when you try to standardize the components of a system up front. There may be efforts to standardize the school-to-job transition system by channeling job training through community colleges or building onto a standard tech prep model. However, this approach will create battles that will last decades and you may get nowhere. Unless we find some way to nurture the process to the next level and address many of the key issues, including the Labor Department's SCANS effort, many of the promising efforts will die on the vine."

Setting Standards for Worker Competencies and Reforming the Structure of the Workplace

The concern voiced at the last seminar of ensuring that standards set for job competencies as defined for the training system correspond to the actual jobs and competencies used on the job was again raised. According to one participant, "We have a dilemma. We want the competencies acquired through the educational system to be the competencies that should be used in the workplace. However, as *America's Choice* tells us, most jobs are not in high performance workplaces, so we do not want the competencies we stress to be simply the lowest common denominator of the skills currently being utilized in the workplace. On the other hand, we do not want employers who are not using those skills in the workplace to say they will not hire an individual without these skills. Among other things, that raises important civil rights issues. How do we address that dilemma so that we push companies to set standards for worker competencies **and** for the structure of the work itself? Can we create a partnership system with those employers who are willing to do both?

Hamilton offered a response based on a demonstration effort, not a system response. "Our demonstration project involves a partnership with the Raymond Corporation, manufacturers of forklift trucks and other materials. Raymond is using the youth apprenticeship as an entering wedge to try to restructure their workforce, reduce the number of different job classifications and encourage further education and cross-training. The Corporation has found that adult workers are reluctant to take advantage of the kinds of training offered.

"By introducing a few youth apprentices who are moving from one section to another and getting multiple skills training, the company hopes to demonstrate to the adults the value of this kind of broad training. The company wants its workforce restructured into multi-skilled teams working on projects rather than having everybody assigned to a department and a specific task. This illustrates the interconnections of the issues we are discussing here today and the possibility that you can get started with one piece of a larger strategy to accomplish the larger task."

Vickers: "The task of systematizing the qualifications and skills associated with certain kinds of occupations cannot be done solely through school reform. You cannot drive a system of youth apprenticeships through changes in education policy alone.

"Many countries have industrial or wage policies that relate to recognized occupational classifications. To be part of the bargaining processes you must possess a specific skills certificate. The recent bill sponsored by Senators Kennedy and Gephardt has language that encourages employers to pay employees with certain certificates 20 percent more than employees in the same job that do not have these certificates. There has to be an economic return to training. The individual engaging in training is looking for a return in terms of wages for gaining further qualifications. The absence of some reciprocity between training, certificates and the expectations of the workforce in this country means that many people, particularly those receiving training through the community college sector, never complete the qualifications required for certification."

Hemmings: "We cannot simply say to the employer community they must pay 20 percent more to get somebody that they can get for less. We have a situation where the employer community is in immense world competition. We already have problems of high wages and low quality. To raise the wages by an act of law is something that will be fought very hard.

"We need to think these issues through in organizational development terms. The only way the employer can pay more is if he gets more productivity. How we get more productivity is not simply a matter of what the person knows (although it has a large amount to do with what a person knows). It has to do with the circumstances of the work and the workplace.

"The problem is much more complex. We are talking about tax and accounting systems, but not about the newer models of working. Is there some way of plotting an incentive for the employer to change to these models as they get better trained people? We cannot accomplish any of this without establishing standards and having all our educational training programs move in line with these standards. We must commit to producing the people that are needed in the new workforce. The competencies have to be established to allow us to do this."

The Relationships of the Social Partners

The relationships between the public and the private sectors in many European countries are different from those in our country. In Germany, there is a long history of providing in-depth training and apprenticeship with substantial levels of responsibilities in the employer community. There is also a different way of overseeing training. One participant asked, "To what extent is the relative success of training and standards setting in Germany attributable to that aspect of the social compact?"

Vickers: "Part of the answer is that required job competencies and the standards for apprenticeship training are determined by joint boards involving education, labor and industry. These boards lay out the program and decide the content of the examination. When changes occur, the board gets together to plan accordingly. Employers are represented by the chambers which are not voluntary organizations. Every business is required to go to its appropriate chamber and pay the dues. Many labor unions are represented on the boards of directors of the companies for which they work.

"These relationships and ways of working are truly different from those in the U.S. To replicate these relationships in this country means that this must make sense from the employer's perspective. Employers have to see a need to change the way things happen and they must be willing to begin to work with education, other employers and with organized labor. There is great need for advice in figuring out how to do that and/or how to encourage it."

The U.S. health industry exemplifies this level of coordination. Employers and professional associations agree on what the standards are and what the training program should look like. They negotiate with colleges to ensure that those standards are met. A few large companies in the telecommunications industry have also agreed on certain types of occupational training that would be beneficial to the industry as a whole. They have negotiated with the education system for the delivery of that training. The process of developing consensus and setting standards will happen occupation by occupation and industry by industry.

Another participant indicated that a critical component had been left out of the discussion—state licensure. "In the case of the law profession, you have schools providing the curriculums they want, but the key factors are the bar association and the state bar exam. Licensure is a critical element."

Vickers: "One of the developments spurring Australia through the standards development processes is an acceptance by the state licensing authorities that the standards developed and agreed to by the industrial partners become the basis upon which licensing occurs. For example, in the electrical area, there is a long-term expectation that the standards will become embedded in the vocational education and the apprenticeship system. The people who have completed these systems will no longer need to be licensed at all. The licensing is merely there to reflect and agree with the standards. Once the standards are imbedded in the actual training system, we do not need the licensing. Consequently, there is general thought developing in Australia that they should be able to move away from a major focus on licensing."

Diversity in the Labor Market and the Relationship between Issues of Diversity and Disadvantage

The final question of the session involved lessons to be learned from the experiences of other countries in addressing diversity in the labor market.

Hamilton indicated that European countries are more racially and ethnically diverse than they used to be. "There are examples of special efforts to diversity the workforce. These examples are usually concerned with females in traditional male occupations rather than with members of minority populations. Effort has been made to introduce groups of people to a workplace or occupation rather than sending them in one at a time. My experience is that it is better to bring in people who are different from those already in the workplace under the auspices of a formal program.

"One of my colleagues has observed novice workers in the workplace. When the novice worker is similar to the other workers, a lot of the teaching and mentoring happens almost automatically. Some of the teaching and mentoring does not have to happen formally because the members of the common group already share a lot of interests and concerns.

"A real life example is of a young woman who injured herself on the first day of her new job and was sent to the rest room by her co-workers to take care of her own injury. Her co-workers knew that if she went to the nurse, it would have been reported and would have been a mark against her. They did this because she was one of them. If the person had been of a different color or ethnic background, they probably would not have cared for her in this particular manner and she never would have realized the larger issue at hand.

"An apprentice under the supervision of an employee who is told, 'You've got to teach this person the ropes, not only the technical skills but how this place operates,' is more likely to succeed than if he or she is thrown into the workplace and left to sink or swim alone. Setting aside the act of discrimination, someone may fail just because the culture of the workplace was never explained. For example, nobody explains it is okay to come in two minutes late from an afternoon break providing you get back two minutes earlier from the next break."

Taking a different tack, Vickers felt that there need not be a clear relationship between diversity and disadvantage in the school or the workplace if you first address intervening factors such as education finance and availability of opportunity. She stressed that financing of education in the United States is different from any other country in the world. "The revenues raised for schools relate to the relative wealth of school districts which is reflective of housing patterns and the size of the disadvantaged group.

"The relationship between diversity and disadvantage, for example, in Australia is not nearly as evident since not only is there completely uniform funding of public schools within the states but the federal government itself redistributes tax money among states to create a common base so that there is very little unevenness in financing. Therefore non-Australian born Australians—Australians of Greek parents or of Asian parents—are more likely to graduate high school than all Australians."

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III

BACKGROUND BRIEF:

Setting Qualifications for Employment—The Role of Employers and Unions

Recently, there has been renewed interest in developing systems of student assessment for the purposes of ensuring accountability within public education and guaranteeing greater currency and creditability of the high school diploma. Concerns of U.S. employers over the general low levels of basic and general work readiness skills of young people entering the workforce have furthered the need to identify and document student skills and competencies necessary for success in the workplace and other postsecondary pursuits. This concern also stems from the changing nature of many sectors of industry which increasingly depend on technology requiring workers with strong competencies in reading, writing and mathematics.

As a result, a number of proposals and activities have been developed to improve labor market readiness. The Commission on the Skills of the American Workforce has recommended the development and implementation of a rigorous national standard of educational performance which students must attain by the age of 16. Students attaining this standard would receive a Certificate of Initial Mastery, thus qualifying them to continue on to paid employment and/or studies preparatory to college technical or professional education.

The academic basics are the cornerstone of the Certificate of Initial Mastery. Also, a new approach to student performance assessment would be required, which provides multiple opportunities for success in meeting the standard rather than a single moment of possible failure. According to the Commission's report:

> The establishment of a system of national standards and assessment would ensure that every student leaves compulsory school with a demonstrated ability to read, write, compute and perform at world-class levels in general school subjects (mathematics, physical and natural sciences, technology, history, geography, politics, economics, and English). Students should also have exhibited a capacity to learn, think, work effectively alone and in groups, and solve problems. Among other things, the Certificate of Initial Mastery would certify labor market readiness, and a mastery of the basic skills necessary for high productivity employment. (June 1990, p. 69)

The work of the Secretary of Labor's Commission on Achieving Necessary Skills (SCANS) also provides a framework for developing the foundation and enabling skills necessary for success in the workplace by:

- recommending the foundation and enabling skills required by high school graduates to achieve work readiness;
- proposing acceptable levels of proficiency for these skills;
- identifying effective ways to measure skill levels; and
- disseminating skills guidelines and information on measurement techniques to businesses and trade groups, unions, schools and education associations, and federal and state governments.

Setting Qualifications for Employment

Our nation's dilemma is increasingly one of developing a high-skill workforce and high performance work systems or relying upon a low-wage workforce and low-performance work systems. To pursue the former strategy will require great changes in the ways we prepare, reward and nurture our entry-level and current workforce and how we structure our schools and

places of employment. It will also require a greater focus on achieving high standards of education and training in line with the needs of high performance work organizations.

According to Howard (1991), the model high performance work system "features flat managerial hierarchies and broad decentralization of authority and decision-making to employees on the front line of a company's business. The high performance model allows companies to improve the quality of products, speed new product innovations to market, and respond quickly to changing customer needs—three crucial success factors in the new competitive environment. But the key to making this high performance model work is a broadly skilled workforce knowledgeable enough and motivated enough to deal with customers, make important business decisions, and exercise initiative on the job." (p.4)

Prerequisite to establishing high standards for education and training is knowing the skills and competency requirements of work organizations and incorporating these requirements into our school curriculums and employment preparation schemes. This requires the contributions of numerous stakeholders and members of the education and employment communities.

A number of national organizations—National Alliance of Business, Committee for Economic Development, National Academy of Science, and American Society for Training and Development—have attempted to codify the kinds of skills and behaviors employers seek in their employees. Numerous local efforts are also underway to do the same. Over 100 businesses in Fort Worth, Texas are working to define the basic characteristics of 1,000 real-work jobs and 5,000 tasks. Based on this information, the local school system is considering changes in curriculum, staff training, facilities and equipment so that district students are better prepared to qualify for these jobs (Skrizychi, June 3, 1990).

The Educational Testing Service (ETS) is attempting to assess the proficiencies that come closest to matching the cognitive tasks of the workplace. Additionally, ETS in collaboration with the National Alliance of Business and with the assistance of the American Business Conference has launched a new initiative, WORKLINK. WORKLINK is a high technology information system for reporting students' achievement in school, training and work to business and industry. Among its goals are to increase students' motivation to learn by making their achievement visible to potential employers while also providing employers with better human resource information. Additionally, American College Testing (ACT) has begun work on WORK KEYS, its version of a skills assessment. This new test is designed to measure ability in academics (reading, writing, science and mathematics) and employability skills (communication, organization, leadership and group work).

The Role of Employers and Unions

These efforts are necessary components for developing information and structural links between school and the workplace. However, the work of developing occupational proficiency standards, curriculums and competency assessments leading to degrees and professional certificates in specific occupations and industries must arise from the standards for education, occupations and training set by the coordinated efforts of employers, trade associations and employee organizations representative of high performance work organizations. The latter is particularly critical since our workforce suffers not only from a dearth of sufficiently skilled workers but often from a limited demand for high skilled workers among U.S. companies that continue to organize work in ways dependent upon low-skill jobs. Hence, our charge is a complex one—to establish skills standards for employees at world-class levels, infuse these standards into our institutions and training programs, and promote the existence of environments that nurture and develop high-performance work.

As a nation, we have not systematically built the mechanisms that result in training and credentialing standards for: (1) a variety of occupations on which we can structure education and training programs of consistently high quality and outcomes; and (2) performance-based assessments relating to those standards. Where standards exist to inform education, training, assessments and credentialing, they are often locally applied and lack national credibility and impact. As a result, credentials earned are not always portable across and within state lines.

A further need is to set up credentialing systems based on what individuals know and can do rather than on how and where they learned it. At present, degree-granting colleges and universities hold close to a monopoly in

conferring credentials. Many feel that an alternate credentialing system controlled by business and industry is needed to focus on workplace skills.

According to Miller (1989), "The new system—based on certification of individuals rather than accreditation of institutions and educational programs—would reduce marketplace barriers, encourage entrepreneurs in both the public and private sectors to respond to HRD [human resource development] needs, and result in improved quality control. The system would also provide business and industry with a direct means of exercising its much-needed influence in HRD." (p. B.2)

Continuing Concerns

Our concern is to ensure that young people are prepared for success in the workplace and other postsecondary endeavors. Clear direction is required from employers and unions regarding the trends and skills requirements of industries and occupations so that schools can provide the proper foundation of lifelong learning and initiate the transition of youth from school to employment. Where, how and to what end standards and assessments for high school graduation or for completion of training programs and occupational credentials are used determine their relative benefit to young people seeking to move directly from school into employment. Their potential impact can be as: useful diagnostic tools to inform students, teachers and schools of the skills and capacities needed to be successful in a given career; barriers to employment for students with poor quality education and limited social and cultural experiences; and /or indicators of the relative quality of education in the states.

Among the leading questions we must address are:

1) How to create a stronger role for employers and unions in setting qualifications for employment and specific jobs and impacting the training and credentialing for those jobs?
2) How to create common standards in training operations and ensure consistent quality of programs in schools and postsecondary institutions?
3) How to ensure that standards for training and credentialing reflect broad preparation and performance within an occupational field or industrial setting, and are portable, nationally creditable and reflect world-class skill standards?
4) What incentives are required of employers to upgrade their labor force and reorganize their work along the lines of high performance work organizations?
5) How do we ensure that increased standards and qualifications for employment, improved assessments for employment readiness, and performance-based credentials do not result in barriers to employment for populations presently under-represented in high wage, high performance occupations and industries?

PRESENTATIONS:

Setting Qualifications for Employment—The Role of Employers and Unions

Presenters for this lesson were Peter Carlivati, Director, American Institute of Banking, American Bankers Association, and George Bliss, Assistant Director-Training Department, United Association of Plumbers and Pipe Fitters.

For the past seven years, Peter Carlivati has served as the National Director of the American Institute of Banking (AIB), an educational division of the American Bankers Association. With nearly 500 chapters and study groups nationwide, AIB is the leading locally delivered education and training resource for the financial services industry. It is also one of the largest trade association-sponsored education programs in the world.

George Bliss is the Assistant Director of Training, United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry of the United States and Canada. In this position he assists in directing the training of more than 300,000 journeymen and apprentices throughout 453 local training programs in the U.S. and in Canada.

PETER CARLIVATI

Carlivati presented an overview of the American Bankers Association's (ABA) activities in establishing training standards, accrediting banker education institutions, and certifying bankers. He also discussed training and performance standards for employment and his association's efforts to improve work-based literacy in the banking industry.

There are over 20,000 trade associations and professional societies in the U.S. today with over 3,000 national organizations located in the District of Columbia. The missions of most of these associations center around the provision of education services for the members. Education is almost always cited as a reason for joining an association or professional society. At the ABA for instance, government relations and education are identified by members as the two most important functions of the organization.

ABA's Professional Development Program

"The ABA sponsors 20 schools and annually more than 50 workshops, 20 national conferences and literally thousands of training classes through the American Institute for Banking (AIB). This effort is organized through the professional development program (PDP), a nationwide system of banker education integrating banker education efforts at the local, state, regional and national levels. Through PDP, the ABA offers systematic career development for employees so that they can function better in their jobs.

American Institute for Banking

"At the local level, the American Institute for Banking (AIB) provides education for bankers in the early stages of their careers. Local chapters and study groups deliver ABA-developed courses and other training programs to bankers in their community. Founded in 1901, AIB educates and trains over 200,000 bankers each year in formal classes as well as through correspondence study. AIB courses lead to industry-specific diplomas and certificates in bank operations, commercial

lending, consumer credit, general banking, mortgage lending, customer service, security services and supervisory skills. In addition many local AIB chapters have developed college affiliation programs in which AIB courses are integrated within a college business/finance curriculum. Students then are eligible to receive both college credit as well as AIB credit leading to the certificates of diplomas. There are approximately 150 college affiliation programs in place today, primarily with two-year institutions. AIB is a local provider of banker education, with most programs generally geared to front line, entry-level employees.

State Bankers Associations

"Bankers at the mid-management level require broader bank management training and specialized education in their professional disciplines. To address this need, state bankers associations sponsor one- and two-week residential schools in general banking and specialized banking subjects generally delivered on college campuses. ABA develops the curriculums and training materials for the schools and the state bankers associations deliver the programs. In addition to schools sponsored by state bankers associations, ABA develops specialized schools—one- and two-week residential programs in various subjects such as bank card management.

Regional Graduate and ABA-Sponsored Graduate Schools

"Regional graduate banking schools and ABA-sponsored graduate schools provide for the educational needs of experienced bank officers. These schools represent the third level of the professional development program. These schools give experienced bankers an opportunity for advanced study or research in more sophisticated bank management areas. For example, ABA offers a graduate school of commercial lending. There is also the prestigious Stonier Graduate School of Banking which is a six-week, general banking school spread over three summers, for two weeks each summer. There are four other regional banking schools similar to Stonier offered by consortia of state bankers associations in other regions of the country.

Executive Education

"The capstone of educational development in the professional development program is ABA's executive education program. On a regular basis, ABA provides executive level programs for bank officers beyond the ranks of middle management or nearing promotion to senior level positions. These programs prepare bank executives to participate more fully in formulating and implementing corporate strategy.

"While most offerings in the professional development program might be characterized as traditional, classroom-based experiences, the ABA is actively investigating ways to enhance our current delivery system. The American Financial Skylink, a satellite-based communication system, currently beams two hours of programming to banks in several states. The fledgling network gives the association the potential to deliver courses or schools via satellite. The second development is database publishing. We currently publish nearly 100 courses and curriculums each year for use in AIB courses and schools. Database publishing capabilities will allow us to tailor our programs for special purposes, including the rapidly expanding in-house programs of our larger banks.

PDP Curriculum

"The Professional Development Program provides both form and substance to banker education. An articulated curriculum builds from the American Institute of Banking through ABA's executive level education. For example, the required courses of AIB diplomas also serve as a prerequisite for admission to banking schools sponsored by state bankers associations. To assure quality, AIB chapters and state bankers association-sponsored schools are eligible to participate in ABA's accreditation programs.

Accreditation Programs

"The ABA has worked hard in developing both an accreditation program for institutions participating in the professional development program as well as a certification program for bankers in several professional disciplines. ABA's accreditation process is designed to: assure minimum standards of excellence in banker education programs and materials; promote uniform quality in similar programs regardless of

geographic location; and enhance the perception and value of banker education by bankers and bank management.

"Institutions participating in the professional development program can receive accreditation through ABA's Accreditation Oversight Board, an independent governing body within the association. The accreditation process requires the institution or program to conduct a self-evaluation, assessing its educational program against PDP standards. Then a team of peers, generally bankers and academicians, reviews the report and conducts a site visit to verify information and to conduct further research relative to the standards. The team evaluates the institution against its standards and issues a report to the institution. The institution then has 30 days to respond to the findings of the site team. Finally, ABA's Accreditation Oversight Board reviews the self-evaluation, site visit report, and a response from the institution and makes its decision. The process, while similar in structure to those offered by other professions consistent with guidelines established by the Council on Postsecondary Accreditation (COPA), is also particular to the educational needs of the banking industry.

"There are 11 professional educational standards for banker education programs. For each standard, there is a set of judgment criteria. ABA's accredited status lasts up to seven years. Maintaining good standing is contingent upon the submission of annual reports and the payment of an annual maintenance fee.

"In addition to the voluntary accreditation program, there is also another standards program which is mandatory for AIB chapters. Each year all AIB chapters are required to complete a lengthy report and provide supporting evidence that addresses standards similar to those of the accreditation process. Based on a thorough review of all reports, ABA issues awards of commendation to high-ranking chapters and promotes their accomplishments in the trade press.

Certification Program

"In 1989, ABA organized a blue ribbon panel on banker education. The panel concluded that "efforts must be expanded from an emphasis principally on education and training to a broader focus on professional development." It further concluded that "this must include programs to assist bankers . . . in improving competency by developing mechanisms for screening, testing, and certifying." In 1991 an ABA certification program was launched in four areas: personal trust, corporate trust, regulatory compliance, and bank security.

"To provide oversight over the certification program, the Institute of Certified Bankers (ICB) was formed within the association as a non-profit independent corporation sponsored by the American Bankers Association. The mission of the Institute or ICB is to:

- determine the qualifications for certification;
- promote membership in the ICB by highly qualified individuals;
- monitor and maintain a record of each ICB member's formal education;
- promote educational opportunities designed to aid individuals in enhancing their professional skills;
- monitor the requirements for maintaining "certified status;"
- promote public confidence in the integrity, objectivity, competence, and professionalism of those certified by ICB;
- unite members of ICB in their efforts to serve the public interest; and
- aid members in understanding and adjusting to changes in the economy, technology, and society.

"At the ABA, 'four E's' of verification are critical. They are education, experience, examination and ethics. In order for a banker to become certified in a specific area, he or she must pass a comprehensive examination. To be eligible to sit for an examination, he or she must be employed in the industry and meet a requisite combination of education and experience. After the examination is successfully passed, the individual must sign a code of ethics.

"An advisory board of experienced banking leaders in each of the four certification areas—personal trust, corporate trust, regulatory compliance, and bank security—determines the eligibility requirements, knowledge and skill levels, examinations, and other details for each certification program. Once certified in a specific area, an individual becomes entitled to add a designation to his or her name. For example, a person earning certification in the personal trust area becomes a Certified Financial and Trust Advisor and may use the "CFTA" designation.

"Certification has been targeted on banking professions identified by bankers as in need of development. One of our challenges over the next few years is to determine whether other

professions or skilled job families, such as for customer service representatives or tellers, lend themselves to certification and whether our members would support such a development.

Workplace Literacy

"Over the past several years, a large number of banks have told us of their difficulty in finding skilled workers to fill a variety of entry-level positions. Large numbers of prospective employees lack the prerequisite skills in reading, writing, oral communications, math and general problem-solving to function at an acceptable level for a specific job. This is what we call functional illiteracy.

"We surveyed mid-level managers at nearly 400 ABA member institutions to define the extent of the perceived workplace illiteracy problem in the banking industry. The survey also sought to determine how ABA could help commercial banks solve problems associated with basic skills deficiencies.

"The symptoms of basic skill problems in banks as identified by respondents included poor service, noncompliance with bank procedures, teller drawer shortages, poor performance in selling bank products such as passbook accounts or checking accounts and so forth, sloppy correspondence, customer complaints, careless errors, high job turnover, and poor job skills retention.

"We decided to attack the problem by focusing on the jobs most "at risk" for basic skills problems. Our survey responses estimated that nearly one-fourth of all employees in the following positions experienced performance problems due to basic skills deficiencies: teller, bookkeeper, customer service representatives and secretary. Moreover, survey respondents felt that each of the at-risk positions had a unique set of basic skills learning needs.

"We set out to analyze those job positions. Working cooperatively with publisher Simon and Schuster and researchers at the University of Indiana, we conducted literacy audits of actual banking jobs. As far as we know, we were the first trade association to try to address the problem using this approach on an industry-wide basis.

"In June 1990, we introduced the industry-specific training program, Strategic Skill Builders for Banking. The program is designed to teach specialized reading, math, communication and learning skills needed for job performance. Research and pilot testing of the modules were conducted at more than 100 banks and AIB locations around the country. The modules provide learning exercises that teach job-related thinking skills needed to perform critical banking tasks. Modules contain job skills lessons together with parallel life-skills lessons so that learners can apply and reinforce the skills both on the job and in daily life.

"Several years ago I wrote a short piece for *Association Management* magazine in which I challenged the association leaders to begin work on the issue of workplace literacy. In the article I suggested that America has an emerging problem of massive proportions—a widening "skills gap" in which an ever increasing demand for skilled workers is outstripping the rate of supply of those workers. I further suggested that associations could get involved in a number of ways, including:

- polling members to determine symptoms of the problem in their trade or profession and related costs;
- launching a membership awareness program campaign on the nature and severity of the problem;
- exploring opportunities to develop industry-specific, basic skills materials for use with specific job categories;
- encouraging members to get involved in business-school partnerships in their communities;
- spotlighting members who are working on the problem;
- organizing applied research projects to monitor the current and emerging training and education needs of the membership and sharing results with the education community; and
- seeking opportunities to involve association leadership in addressing the skills crisis.

"Although we're proud of the Strategic Skill Builders for Banking initiative, we're not sure that we want to be in the basic skills training business. In his remarks before a Fortune Magazine-sponsored education summit back in October 1990, Apple Computer CEO John Sculley reported that American industry spends in excess of $25 billion a year on remedial training, just getting people to the point where they are trainable. Given a choice, I suspect that American business leaders want neither their companies nor their associations in the role of

providing basic education. Training, yes. Retraining, yes. It is in these areas where associations can set standards, perhaps through mechanisms such as certification, and provide corresponding learning experiences. It's what we do best."

GEORGE BLISS

Bliss presented a history of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry's training programs. He then shared a number of sample documents with seminar participants, including the standards for the piping industry that are registered with the U. S. Labor Department; training recommendations, courses of study and curriculums for plumbers and pipefitters throughout the United States and Canada; and course text materials and guides. These materials, which have been developed with joint committee funds, are available only to joint committees (comprised of employers and labor representatives), not the public. The joint committee funds 90 percent or more of its own programs.

In addition to these materials, Bliss shared a policy recommendation developed by the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship dated January GC20 28, 1992. (See Session I, p. for summary of essential components of apprenticeship as described by the Federal Committee on Apprenticeship.) The policy recommendation describes what apprenticeship is and is not. He encouraged participants to review the document and compare it to programs under discussion focused on youth.

History of the Association

"The United Association of Journeymen and Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipe Fitting Industry began its training and apprenticeship programs in 1937. These efforts were initially in cooperation with state education agencies and vocational schools. In the 1960s and 1970s, the Association collaborated with junior and community colleges, but the relationship has been poor for the last 20 years. We have been unable to establish a reasonable relationship partly because of the barriers and limitations with which school administrators are forced to deal, such as large class sizes, uncommitted or unmotivated students, and limited public funding. As a result, the United Association has developed about 400 of its own private schools and provides training for instructors in these schools.

The Importance of Training and Standards

"The training standards of the Association are jointly developed by national committees and then adopted by national associations. The Mechanical Contractors Association of America and the National Association of Plumbing, Heating, Cooling Contractors, in conjunction with the United Association have developed and continue to develop and distribute these standards with the assistance of the U. S. Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training.

"The standards do not represent just a union view. They represent an industry's commitment to training that is industry-financed, supported, produced and delivered. We consider training a cost of doing business, and it should be.

"Twenty-five years ago there were probably 250,000 registered apprentices in the United States. Since that time, one of the Bureau's chief goals has been to increase the number of registered apprentices in the United States. Despite efforts to support this goal, the number of registered apprentices is now only about 275,000 or 280,000. Additionally, 25 years ago two-thirds of all the apprentices in the United States belonged to the building trades in occupations such as the plumbers, pipe fitters, carpenters, and electricians. Today, after 25 years of trying to expand apprenticeship, the building trades still represent about two-thirds of all apprenticeships. Why is that? Why are other trades and occupations not involved?

"One theory is that many industries are not willing to take on the cost of training. It is reassuring to hear that the banking industry supports training; however, apprenticeship is a system that the bankers should consider. They could probably also benefit from having employee representation on training committees and having greater employee participation in the development of courses.

"A stronger commitment to training is what industry needs and what continues to keep my industry up to date. We offer a five-year instructor training program for highly skilled and motivated masters in their crafts and trades designed to strengthen their teaching skills. At our instructor training program, held last summer, 1,250 instructors were in attendance.

"Apprenticeship is not cooperative education, vocational education, tech prep, two plus two (three or four), summer or part-time work experiences or any of the other myriad training strategies that many are promoting as ways to assure adequate workforce preparation. Such strategies undoubtedly have value in their own right, but they are not apprenticeship. . . . When a person completes a registered apprenticeship program, he or she is prepared to go to work as a fully trained, competent journey person whose skills enable him or her to perform effectively in the workplace. Few, if any, other types of educational programs can make this claim. ("The Meaning of Apprenticeship," January 28, 1992, p. 2.)

Those of us concerned with training find that the more educators train, the more the trainers have to educate. We do not want to be in that business. We would like to be able to take people with marketable skills—people who read and write, do simple mathematics and have a work ethic."

—George Bliss

They came to be updated on the latest information on technical subjects and new practices. This program is funded by our international union.

What's the Function of Training and Who Benefits?

"The needs of the industry are paramount as well as the career of the individual. In order to know the current needs of the industry, we rely on joint committees. Joint committees include contractors who identify what is needed, as well as employee members who can say 'This is what I ran into today, we better start training on computer-assisted drafting. We better start doing some new certification procedures.'

"Quality training has several purposes: 1) to provide workers with the skills to remain productive throughout their working lives, 2) to fulfill the needs of industry; and 3) to help build and maintain a better America.

"Our first concern is to provide our apprentices and journey workers with the skills necessary to earn a livelihood over a period of 40 or 50 years. In the construction industry, employment has always been temporary. What's reliable and dependable is the skill level you have to offer. Many of us have hobbies such as woodworking, or maybe we can set tile or paint, but to do that and earn enough money as a contractor to stay in business, charge rates that the consumer can afford, and function at a high skill level requires training.

"Our second concern is to fill the needs of the industry. In the plumbing and pipe fitting industry, we help build powerhouses. The greatest majority of people on a power construction job are plumbers and pipe fitters. We help build houses, we install and maintain air conditioning units. Anything that has a pipe coming to or from it is probably installed by us. We prepare people for these jobs through a broad spectrum of training based on the needs of the industry at that time. At one time a major function in our training was learning to install and join together lead pipes. Now we no longer use lead piping. We have moved to the next technology and have had to stay in step with our skills and materials.

"The 1990s will bring certification for almost everything. Whether that's good or bad we'll find out, but certainly everybody's going to have to be certified, not only trained but required to take a test to show that they are qualified for the job.

"As our industry and its skills needs evolve, it is essential that our members stay in step and can prove that they are qualified. You probably would not associate the plumbing industry with medical gases but when you lie down on that table and the doctor puts the mask over your face, the gas that's delivered is the result of a pipe put there by us. If those gases are crossed, or if it's not a sanitary situation, you can run into real trouble. There were 6,800 unexplained deaths in the state of Pennsylvania alone. Many of those have to do with bacteria within the pipelines and medical gas systems. These types of applications are going to require more highly skilled functions—not general training, but specific training for which workers can get certified.

"Another important benefit from quality training is to help build and maintain America in a better fashion. For example, we are demanding more of the buildings that we build and work in. To the banking industry, humidity control is an important requirement for its buildings to maintain key equipment—the computers, sorters, readers and scanners. In earlier days, the brass detailing was an important concern that dictated the building design for banks. Our concerns also include how a building works, how it functions, whether the employees and customers are comfortable. These are the parameters for maintaining the life or support systems of that building in addition to building a solid structure. These changing concerns and requirements make training an ongoing and important activity.

What's the Investment?

"The investment in training by the building trades department of the AFL-CIO is between $500 and 600 million per year. The United Association contributes probably $80 to 100 million. The funds come from assessment of our members. The average for the United Association is about 18 cents an hour that goes to the local funds. This gives the locals the ability to train. This is done unselfishly because people that are trained through journey worker's funds will be able to compete in the same job market with existing journey workers. It makes it tough but our members know the future of our industry lies in the quality of the training we can offer.

"At our last convention, the membership voted unanimously to take another dollar per month in a per capita increase earmarked for training which will be distributed from the national office

"There is no reason why a non-unionized company cannot run an apprenticeship program. Unilateral apprenticeship programs exist, but in the main they are unsuccessful or they are not consistent because they do not have employee input. They have no relationship with the employee. All the decisions, all the links are made by the employer. To be successful, whether it is a union operation or not, you need employee input."

—George Bliss

through our department. Since the 1950s, the United Association has had an agreement with the National Constructor's Association and receives national training funds for teacher salary subsidies, capital equipment purchases for their schools and in consumables that are needed. Because we rely on cents-per-hour contributions that go up and down as the economy goes up and down, we use those national funds to try to smooth those dips so that our programs can continue to train. The time you need the most training is the time when you have the least money, so we try to anticipate and plan for ongoing training.

"I wish I could tell you that the relationship between the educational community and the training or apprenticeship community was better than it is, but it is related to the position of the vocational education community. The reason that apprenticeship was liked by many schools was because it supported average daily attendance rates and, therefore, helped schools get federal funding. However, our members did not receive our portion of the benefit, and we decided we had to have our own training schools. We would like to be back in partnership with educators again because we think we have something to offer as well as something to gain from you."

Participant Reactions:

Reactors to the presentations were: Betsy Brand, then Assistant Secretary, Office of Vocational and Adult Education, U.S. Department of Education, and Ramsay Selden, Director, CCSSO State Education Assessment Center.

BETSY BRAND placed her comments within the context of the first seminar session discussion concerning the quality of vocational education and the public's oftentimes negative perception of vocational technical education. She related this problem to an absence of standards which, if they existed, could give common ground to our expectations. "The pipe fitters and the plumbers did not get what they wanted from our public institutions because standards were not clear concerning what these institutions were supposed to supply. Also the quality of vocational technical education was not high."

National Standards. She indicated that the U.S. Department of Education and many people across the country are supportive of national standards—standards for K-12 academic or content education, vocational technical training, and industry-specific training— because they are the keystones of education reform. Her concern is that there needs to be a system developed so that standards for K-12 education relate well to the industry-developed or industry based skill standards put in place by trade associations, unions and apprenticeship programs. "How can we put in place the right building blocks compatible with union and ABA standards and expectations so that young people come to the workplace fully literate and ready to move into workplace training and credentialing schemes? This is a conversation that has yet to take place."

According to Brand, the federal government will act as motivator and leader in this area. The U.S. Departments of Education and Labor are encouraging consortia arrangements—industry by industry—to develop the standards, and funding the development of these industry-based skill standards. The consortia will involve business, industry, unions and education. She stressed (1) this will be a collaborative process and, (2) educators must be at the table.

"They should be there, not to tell business and industry what the standards are or should be, but as part of an informative and inclusive process to help educators understand why and how the standards are developed and their implications for educational practice. We must translate what we learn and use it as a basis for determining curriculum content and educational practice in our schools. That is the missing piece. One of the reasons unions parted with our school system is because education was not involved in the process, did not understand what was going on, and was not able to translate this knowledge and practice back into the curriculum, into programs, and into teacher training. All of those things must happen to make standards effective.

"The only way that we can change education systematically and significantly is to have a national system of standards for both the K-12 and adult arenas. This does not mean controlling the states. The federal government does not control education in the states, and locals obviously have a tremendous amount of latitude. The federal government cannot develop an educational delivery system that meets everybody's needs. But if standards exist, many different types of programs can flourish, develop and compete as long as they can meet the standard. Programs can be developed wholly within industry or industry can choose to work in partnership with the public education system

at whatever level. Diversity in training programs is fine but without standards nobody really knows what they are getting. Finally, the standard must be public—information that is available to the community, parents, young people and business."

RAMSAY SELDEN'S comments included (1) a review of several assessment activities currently in progress; (2) issues and needs related to the creation of assessment certification systems; and (3) issues of particular concern to employers.

Assessment Activities. "There is a considerable amount of assessment activity in process. The SCANS Commission is attempting to identify a set of skills that are important for performance in the workplace. One major emphasis of the SCANS work is to identify assessment programs that measure those skills. The New Standards Project is being carried out by the National Center on Education and the Economy and the University of Pittsburgh. It grows out of the *America's Choice* report on the preparation of youth and needs of our workplaces. The study concluded that we need a strong set of standards, assessment systems and certification systems to ensure that the United States is producing people who can perform in the workplace. The New Standards Project is working toward certification of students for good job performance.

"A number of states are developing workplace readiness assessments or assessments of workplace-related skills. Michigan's assessment system is in operation. California's is under development. Wisconsin, Indiana and several others are interested in this area. The Council of Chief State School Officers has formed a collaborative of states interested in working on the specific subject of workplace readiness.

"The states are interested in identifying a common framework of workplace-related content and skills around which they can structure their assessment programs. Rather than creating freestanding assessments, they are ready to (1) integrate assessment of workplace readiness skills into assessments of other academic areas; or (2) develop cross-disciplinary assessments of workplace-related skills in conjunction with mathematics, English, science or interdisciplinary assessments.

"There is a big question about the role of employers and how they work with the education community to determine the content of these standards. Also at question is determining the mix of academic and work-related content or job specific skills that should be reflected in these standards and assessment programs. Other issues include whether there should be single certificates or a system of multiple certificates. Will there be one exam and certificate that can do the job or do we need several to meet these needs?

"Needed are valid, high quality assessment certification programs. Such programs must ensure:

- Validity.
- Certification requires that these systems must be both valid and significant. Credentials and certificates may have importance because they are uniform and national, and hence they acquire significance. They must also be valid to the jobs for which they are gatekeepers.
- The use of appropriate assessment techniques.
- Assessment can benefit from the creation of a more realistic context. Many skills can be assessed in a more authentic context if there is collaboration between school systems and work sites.
- Fairness to the individuals who are affected by them—this is the classic legal criterion for employment selection programs.
- Flexibility—there must be optimum opportunities to achieve the standards.
- Opportunities for individuals to learn content and to reach these skills.

"A particular issue for employers is state participation in determining the content of the emerging assessment programs and certification systems. Employers are more comfortable with industry-generated training and credentialing systems. Any system that we generate must be useful to industries. However, it is important that employers participate in creating flexible opportunities for people to reach the standards and to achieve the results through continuing education, on-the-job training, or by assisting schools, and ultimately, figuring out how to train people for the jobs."

Discussion:

Carlivati: Traditionally, the American Institute of Banking has been relatively insulated from pre-employment initiatives. Recent efforts have included work with local chapters in developing

partnerships with schools or participating in efforts to train individuals with marginal skills to make them ready or acceptable for employment.

Among partnership efforts with schools, he cited the "Fund for Education and Economics," a trust fund which provides income to support the personal economics program (PEP). The PEP puts bankers into public school classrooms to teach students about banking, careers in banking and what it takes to be a banker.

Bliss indicated that, by law, an applicant for apprenticeship can be sponsored by either an employee or an employer. The joint apprenticeship committee is responsible for placing individuals in apprenticeships and the individual becomes indentured to that committee. In addition to placement with employees, the committee is responsible for monitoring the on-the-job training and ensuring that trainees have a well-rounded learning experience. The trainees move from employer to employer and therefore expand and develop a variety of skills. Apprenticeship (or on-the-job training) and related training are both necessary parts of becoming a journey worker.

Required Credentials for Candidates Seeking to Enter Specific Occupations

Carlivati: There is no industry-created credential or standard for entry into the banking business. Certificates provide credentials necessary for career development and career ladders for individuals already in the profession.

Bliss: There are many more applicants than available openings in the plumbing and pipe fitting industry as well as in most of the building trades. Trying to determine who has a chance for success in the industry is complicated. Presently, a GED or a high school diploma is required for entry into apprenticeship programs.

Bliss cited the need for better indicators to determine "drive" and "persistence" of candidates—important qualifications for success in their programs. Also, his industry would like to work closer with school counselors to ensure that those individuals who want to be a part of the industry have the basic skills and experiences to make it in the business. This includes knowledge and use of math and science principles, the ability to read plans and understand drawings, and hand-eye coordination.

Prospects of Adopting Youth Apprenticeship Models at the Secondary School Level

Bliss: Much of what is described as youth apprenticeship is not apprenticeship. It may be more appropriately described as an internship, but it is something other than apprenticeship. One of his union's major concerns about the "youth internship" is that participants not take a job or an opportunity from a person who is already in the workplace or profession. "Opportunities for work experience for young people should not hurt the career person. In a registered apprenticeship program, the functions that trainees can perform do not reduce the chances for employment for the people who are working full-time in the craft.

"An additional concern is the amount of 'lip service' given to the word apprenticeship. It only serves to delude young people into thinking they really are apprentices, that is, in training for real jobs that exist. Another concern is that the trainee not be a disposable worker—one who trains for a period of time and then is replaced by another student worker."

Bliss acknowledged the value of experiential learning for some young people and indicated that groups such as his own with experience in work-based learning could be of great assistance to schools in providing applications for academic subjects, for example, how geometry is used in construction, how algebra is used by electricians.

A participant from the labor community pressed for clarity on the original question: "Are we talking about how to integrate vocational and academic education? Are we talking about how to increase the range of ways that kids learn fundamental things, not just through books, but also through experience? If that is what we are talking about, then we must ask, does it make sense to get more kids into real world situations in the workplace?

"If this is what is being asked, then the answer is 'yes,' the labor movement is in support of experiential and work-related learning. We are in support of ways to increase the range of choices in how young people learn fundamentals. This is what George Bliss has been saying and this has been an important element in the apprenticeship system. Can we achieve this by increasing opportunities for youth to go into real world workplaces and learn in those settings? In theory, yes, absolutely.

"The reality, though, is that there is not much value placed on training of any sort in most workplaces. There is no point in trying to increase the opportunity for young people to go into workplaces when people working full-time do not get training. Why should employers spend time structuring learning experiences for young people when those employers are not bothering to do that for people on the payroll?

"How do we then increase the amount of training or learning that goes on in the workplace? The answer is what the *America's Choice* report found: restructure the workplace. In this regard, we should look to industries that are restructuring. It is in these industries that we see a strong interest and commitment to training of workers."

Why, despite extremely well-developed training programs based on industry standards, does virtually none of the training or the education component of the apprenticeship take place in either formal secondary schools or postsecondary schools? Bliss concurred this is the state of affairs. He conceded that this is not to say that programs could not benefit from the education resources, but that the existing education systems are not currently being used.

A follow-up question centered on two concerns: 1) What changes would be necessary to involve these institutions in the programs of registered apprenticeship? and 2) How viable are potential relationships with schools and postsecondary institutions since critical apprenticeship criteria include program sponsorship by employers, employees or both, and the on-the-job experiences at the work site?

Bliss felt such a relationship was not possible with secondary schools. "They can't meet the requirements of apprenticeship. Schools are interested in maintaining the status quo. It's too hard for them to change. They continue to promote outdated occupational skills. If you could get students in the secondary schools to understand about measurements or basic education, then this would be a great accomplishment for secondary education."

He felt that postsecondary institutions could serve a useful function; however, accommodations needed to be worked out in the distribution of funds. He indicated that if apprenticeship programs provide the students and postsecondary institutions get money for serving these students, everybody is happy. However, when there is no money to entice postsecondary institutions to serve these students, the institutions do not want to take them.

Bliss stressed that, above all, schools and postsecondary institutions should channel their energies into ensuring that students receive good basic skills. This in turn allows registered apprenticeship programs to focus on education in specific occupational areas, not remediation. He maintained that the responsibility for teaching specific occupational skills should be left to industry—whether banking, medical or construction—because it is able to adjust more rapidly to changing technologies than schools as a whole.

Finally, he indicated that only two of the apprenticeship standards referred to previously deal with curriculum issues—whether knowledge is gained in the classroom or in the workplace. Other standards touch on larger program criteria, such as wages, career advancement and safety conditions. "It is important to think of apprenticeship as something broader than the curriculum; it embraces the total environment and context of learning."

Building Bridges between the School System and the Apprenticeship

Bliss: Building these bridges involves developing better understanding between schools and employers. This can be accomplished. He stressed, however, that a better understanding of apprenticeship and its outcomes are needed. "Let's not call these young people pre-apprentices. They are students. They are still beginners, trying to find their way through to a career and that is not an easy thing to do when you are 16 years old." The term pre-apprentice implies that someday the individual is going to be an apprentice. Using this term is misleading since few pre-apprentices ever get to be apprentices.

Bliss further explained that though he is not an expert on the European system, he had spent time in the United Kingdom and was disappointed in how their system worked. Their system is essentially government-funded. "When money is available, they offer decent training and when it is not, little or no training is available."

"By contrast, the model used in the United States is one to be copied and expanded. It involves joint committees—union or not, and sometimes just employees—that provide training over and above what the secondary schools can

provide. Because of its source of governance and support, the standards remain high. If you are absent from your apprenticeship, you are dropped from the program. We do not go out looking for students, we are not mandated to take on a certain number of participants. There are certain percentages of gender and race that we work towards for compliance with certain laws, but once you are in the program, you are all equal and we make sure that you get the training. You are going to be successful or you are not going to be a part of the industry. Showing up, being active, using your brain—this is what is important."

The Participation of Minorities and Women in Registered Apprenticeship Programs

Bliss: Minority employees represent about 20 percent of the building trades. This is an improvement from the past. According to the federal regulations, about seven percent of industry employees should be female, but this is not the case. "If we get one percent, that is good. The opportunities are there; many of our best workers are females. Many of them are bright, hardworking, and tough. They are able to accept harassment on the job site, deal with it and do their job."

He indicated that overt harassment can be stopped, but some level of hazing will continue over the apprenticeship period whether the trainee is female or male. "We are more interested in providing women with every opportunity to learn and be employed, but they must be tough enough to hold their own within the environment of the job. Sometimes this involves taking a certain amount of harassment. It is there, but everyone is guaranteed equal access. The thing that we try very hard to do is to make sure that everyone comes out the other end of the apprenticeship skilled enough to proceed through their life with a good career."

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IV BACKGROUND BRIEF:

Improving Federal Policies for Youth Employment Training

There is currently a surge of Federal legislative activity to improve preparation for employment. The proposals are designed to address criticisms of present systems to prepare and train for employment, including:

- the lack of a coherent public policy for helping non-college-bound youth make the transition between school and work;
- employment and training policies that have focused exclusively on the most at-risk individuals;
- general low skill levels among young people compounded by problems of poverty, lack of opportunity and positive role models, and limited English proficiency which impact their capacity to function in the workplace;
- the negative consequences of a decentralized education system with varied standards and programs;
- disconnection between learning in formal education and learning at the workplace in real work;K and
- an overall lack of investment in training for potential and incumbent workers (Shenon, January 1992).

Lessons from Experience

New proposals must be examined against findings about what works and could be expanded in developing programs for larger numbers of youth. A synthesis of research findings indicates more lasting and better results from:

- longer term projects;
- a combination of training and academic assistance, with the academic factor being critical;
- individualized programs; and
- collaborative models involving schools, job trainers and private employers.

Other research indicates that abnormally high unemployment rates for high-risk youth are not caused by lack of motivation, but by a severe inadequacy in available job opportunities. Policies must result in both a larger pool of educated and employment-ready youth, and in expansion of job opportunities and the demand on the part of businesses for the talents and skills of these young people (*Jobs Watch Alert*, 1984).

Another key factor is the need to establish an economic return or benefit to the individual for participating in education or training that leads to further qualification and higher performance in the workplace. According to Margaret Vickers, "The individual engaging in training is looking for a return in terms of wages for gaining further qualifications. The absence of some reciprocity between training, certificates and the expectations of the workforce in this country means that many people, particularly those receiving training through the community college sector, never complete qualifications required for certification."

Participants and presenters at past seminars in this series have offered suggestions about how to address and develop the numerous components which must be in place and interconnected, if there is to be coherent public policy—policy that supports both the effective transition of young people from school to employment and continued education and training of incumbent workers. These suggestions include federal or national actions to:

1) encourage industries to set world class standards for job competencies, develop programs of training based on these competencies, and to involve the schools

and other institutions as partners in a coordinated continuum of training, employee development and credentialing;
2) raise awareness among schools and businesses about the need to become high performance places of employment and to educate and develop workers for success in the high performance workplace; and
3) use federal research and information dissemination capacity to convene industries, encourage communications and provide technical assistance on how to achieve agreement on and implementation of new strategies.

The Committee for Economic Development offers a number of recommendations to improve the capacity of labor markets to adapt to changing economic conditions. These include:

- incentives for reemployment, especially through a restructuring of the unemployment insurance system;
- coordination of public-sector and private-sector resources at the state and local levels to facilitate quick and effective responses to plant closings and layoffs;
- educational reform to offer the skills needed to prepare students for a changing marketplace; and
- job-training programs involving local industries (1988).

These findings reflect a new set of expectations for national, state and local governments. These expectations are predicated on new relationships among the public, private and union sectors in bringing about systemic improvements in education and developing new strategies for meeting the needs of young people, the workplace and the economy. They are reflected in elements of emerging federal policies and strategies to define and apply "New World Standards" of performance for students and the workforce through the development of voluntary skill standards across industries and institutions of learning. They are reflected in concerns that national standards apply not only to students and workers but also to delivery systems of education, training and to employers.

PRESENTATIONS:

Improving Federal Policies for Youth Employment Training

Four panelists provided background on past and present federal policies to support youth preparation for employment: Jon Weintraub, staff director, Subcommittee on Labor-Management Relations, House Committee on Education and Labor; Raymond Uhalde, administrator, Office of Strategic Planning and Policy Development, U.S. Department of Labor; Alan Zuckerman, executive director of the National Youth Employment Coalition; and Patricia McNeil, Workforce Policy Associates.

JON WEINTRAUB

Weintraub provided a chronology of federal support of education and training. He identified eight themes that frame federal education and job training legislation and asked that we keep these themes in mind as we consider new ideas in this area. (See box.)

Background on Federal Education and Job Training Programs

Weintraub: "Federal involvement in education goes back to 1787 with the Northwest Ordinance which authorized land grants for the establishment of educational institutions. In 1862, the Smith-Morrill Act authorized public land grants to the states for the establishment of agricultural colleges. In 1867, the Department of Education, was established. It was later called an office, and attained the status of a cabinet-level department in 1980.

"The first public employment office establishing a labor exchange function occurred in Ohio in 1890. At that time, there was no distinction between "unemployment" and "economic need."

"In subsequent years, there was increasing concern about unemployment and federal involvement in the area of learning for employment. These efforts culminated in the myriad federal employment programs of the Franklin Roosevelt era and in those of today. (See box on page 57 for chronology of federal education and employment legislation.)

Targeting of Funds and Groups to be Served. "Not until the Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA) amendments of the mid-1960s was effort made to target federal program funds to specific populations to be served. Those amendments stipulated that 25 percent of individuals served must be disadvantaged and 35 percent of training must be

THEMES FRAMING FEDERAL EDUCATION AND JOB TRAINING LEGISLATION

- Goals or mission of the particular program design (e.g., access, equity, job training, job creation or skill development)
- Population to be targeted or served by these programs
- Design of the delivery system and who controls it
- Mix of services available for the eligible population
- Degree of targeting and allocation of funds
- Program design—whether categorical or block grant
- Institutional relationships among business, government and labor
- Program performance criteria

"It was not until 1957 when the Soviets launched Sputnik, that we as a nation looked at the need for a trained workforce. Thirty-five years later we are doing the same thing and wondering how to do it."

—Jon Weintraub

for labor shortage jobs. Reflections of the MDTA structure are visible in the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, which added to the mix of education and employment training services a series of categorical programs—Job Corps, Neighborhood Youth Corps, Adult Basic Education and others. Later we see major amendments to the Higher Education and Adult Education Acts, and funding for the disabled, including Gallaudet University, which established a model postsecondary school for the deaf.

Program Planning and Integration Efforts. "In the late 1960s and early 1970s, planning efforts were initiated to cope with a growing number of employment and education programs. In 1967, the Cooperative Area Manpower Planning System (CAMPS) was established to provide planning assistance for local governments and states and to link the myriad federal programs—both job training and, to a lesser extent, education. In 1970, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act authorized comprehensive planning for state and local education agencies. In this period, we also witness the beginning of decategorization and decentralization of job training which led to President Nixon's veto of Manpower Revenue Sharing in 1970.

"Efforts to plan and coordinate program efforts continue all down the legislative line, and can be seen in the work done in 1990 on the Carl Perkins Vocational Education Act. From the Congressional staff level to the federal departments, there was continuous wrestling with the goal of program integration.

Employment Funding and Job Creation. "Employment funding shifted at the time of the 1970s recession to job creation. In 1971, Congress created the Emergency Employment Act, which supported about 185,000 jobs at its peak at a cost of $2.25 billion over two years, with six percent unemployment. In 1973, Congress passed the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA), establishing a decategorized and decentralized program for cities and counties. In 1974, at 7.2 percent unemployment, public employment was expanded in 9 months from 300,000 to 752,000 jobs.

"Toward the end of the 1970s, there was a shift away from the decategorized approach by adding a youth title in the same way we are doing now with the JTPA amendments. At the end of the 1970s, Congress added tax policy to the employment picture through the jobs tax credit. In the early 1980s, after eliminating the jobs and youth title through reconciliation, Congress consolidated a pack of education programs from 42 to 7 under the Education Consolidation and Improvement Act. A year later, as CETA was phased out, Congress created the Jobs Training Partnership Act, which added states and businesses to the mix of those involved in federal programming and diminished the role of local governments.

"I will not mention what happened during the 1980s other than to say from 1980 to 1990, funding for education dropped, when corrected for inflation, by about one or two percent. Meanwhile, job training funding dropped by about 57 percent, corrected for inflation. That was the second largest drop other than assisted housing in the domestic budget."

RAYMOND UHALDE

Uhalde updated the chronology of federal strategies with a presentation of the Bush Administration's *Job Training 2000* proposal. He recalled his recent visit to study Germany's "dual system" and the experience of being in a country with a profound and deep-seated commitment to education, lifelong learning and training, from the Ministry down to the shopkeeper. In random discussions throughout the country he asked shopkeepers and front-line workers where they got their training, did they participate in the dual system, and did they have apprentices. The responses consistently reflected recognition of the relationship of training to competitiveness, both locally and internationally, and a strong belief in and commitment to initial and on-going training.

Uhalde stressed his hope that the 1990s would usher in for the United States an era that promotes that kind of commitment to education and training. "Starting at the national level, hopefully, over time, this commitment would be reflected locally. The present spate of legislation offers that opportunity".

Uhalde referred to President Bush's January 17, 1992, announcement that the Administration would submit legislation to Congress to streamline the maze of federal job and vocational training programs and to create a more coherent system out of the existing variety of programs. According to Uhalde, "We do not have a job training and vocational training *system* —just a variety of programs. We need a coherent system oriented to consumers and to the needs of the labor market."

LANDMARKS OF FEDERAL EMPLOYMENT TRAINING POLICY

1917—Smith-Hughes Act authorized grants to the states for vocational education.

1920—Smith-Bankhead Act authorized grants to states for vocational rehabilitation.

1921-2—Hoover Commission estimated the extent of unemployment.

March, 1933—Civilian Conservation Corps established, creating 1,500 camps for 18- to 25-year-old males.

1933—Wagner-Peyser Act created the federal Employment Service.

May 1933—Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) channeled aid to state and local governments and led to recommendations for unemployment insurance, public assistance and old-age benefits. This was the first instance of targeted aid to geographic areas.

August 1935—Works Progress Administration (WPA) put people to work.

1935—Title III and IX of the Social Security Act established the Unemployment Insurance system based on the Wisconsin law of 1932.

1935—National Youth Administration established to help in- and out-of-school youth. This represented the first real federal involvement in youth programming.

1937—Fitzgerald Act created federal involvement in apprenticeship.

1938—Fair Labor Standards Act established a minimum wage and child labor laws.

1944—Servicemen's Readjustment Act (GI Bill) provided educational assistance for veterans.

1946—National School Lunch Act passed along with the George-Barden Act expanding federal support of vocational education.

1946—(Full) Employment Act created the Council of Economic Advisors for guidance to the Congress and the President.

1950—Laws passed to assist in the construction of schools and college housing.

1958—National Defense Education Act, providing assistance to state and local school systems and student loans and fellowships in higher education.

1961—Area Redevelopment Act introduced in Congress but rejected by Eisenhower. It was designed to stimulate growth in areas of high unemployment and was the precursor of a number of the job training programs.

1962—Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA), the first major piece of federal job training legislation which provided training for the unskilled and retraining for skilled workers.

1962—Funding provided for educational television; Indian job training by the Bureau of Indian Affairs; Title IV of the Social Security Act, establishing training for public assistance families; Migration and Refugee Assistance Act, creating grants for the education and training of refugees; and Trade Expansion Act for retraining allowances and income maintenance for those impacted by trade.

1964—Civil Rights Act

1964—Economic Opportunity Act (EOA) increased the mix of services by adding categoricals such as the Job Corps, Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC) and Adult Basic Education.

1965—Elementary and Secondary Education Act authorized grants for elementary and secondary school programs for children from low-income families.

1965—Higher Education Act authorized student loans and grants to higher education institutions.

1966—Adult Education Act expanded the adult basic education programs initiated in EOA.

1966—ESEA amendments extended to education of the handicapped; also in 1965-6, Gallaudet College established a model secondary school for the deaf.

1967—Cooperative Area Manpower Planning System (CAMPS) established to provide local planning assistance for states and local governments.

1967—Public Broadcasting corporation established.

1968—Amendments passed to MDTA, vocational education, ESEA and higher education expanding private sector involvement, creating NACVE, improving handicapped services and adding opportunities for students.

1969-70—Discussion of the decategorized and decentralized approach to job training and the Nixon veto of the Manpower Revenue Sharing Act.

1970—Three years after CAMPS, amendments were added to ESEA authorizing comprehensive planning for state and local education agencies.

1971—Emergency Employment Act (EEA) created 185,000 jobs at its peak at a cost of $2.25 billion over two years (at 6 percent unemployment).

1973—Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) created, establishing decategorization and decentralization by enfranchising cities and counties of 100,000.

1974—With 7.2 percent unemployment, public employment is expanded from 300,000 to 752,000 jobs in 9 months; education amendments added the National Center for Education Statistics.

1977—Addition of a youth title to CETA under the Youth Employment and Demonstration Projects Acts (YEDPA) and a backing away from decategorization; creation of the Targeted Jobs Tax Credit (TJTC) program.

1981—Education Consolidation and Improvement Act (ECIA) consolidated 42 programs into 7 to be funded under a block grant.

1982—Job Training Partnership Act increased roles for states and private business while adding performance standards.

1983—Amendments to the student loan program and ECIA. Vocational education act rewritten adding emphasis to access for all persons, including the handicapped, disadvantaged, single parents, homemakers and the incarcerated.

1986—Higher Education Act, the Education of the Handicapped Act and Vocational Rehabilitation Act reauthorized.

1988—Hawkins-Stafford Elementary and Secondary School Improvement Act.

1990—Vocational Education act reauthorized adding performance provisions.

1990—School Dropout Prevention Act added provisions for basic skills improvement.

—Jon Weintraub

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"The purpose of the *Job Training 2000* proposal is to organize the variety of federal vocational training programs into a system that streamlines workers' access to information and coordinates the delivery of services."

The Bush Administration's 1992 *Job Training 2000* Proposal

Skill Centers. "The first piece of the proposal would establish a network of skill centers in every community to serve as a common point of entry and referral to vocational training, and as a source of information on training institutions and labor market information, career counseling and guidance. These centers would be comparable to the German career information centers, which serve as a library of career guidance, vocational education, occupational and labor market information.

"Skill centers would be critical elements in a system of youth apprenticeship. Young people cannot begin to identify and select career objectives without full and complete information. The skill centers would provide information on the full complement of community resources available to the youth apprenticeship effort. They would be one-stop entry points at multiple locations in communities—each with full and complete information. They would provide a 'menu' of available operations and services, including: assessment of skill levels, career counseling and planning, and employability development; information about occupations, (including wages and career ladders), about the quality and course offerings of federally-funded vocational training programs in communities, and about eligibility requirements, and referrals to vocational training institutions and programs. Skill centers would operate in colleges and public Employment Service offices and a variety of other institutions.

"There would be a procedure for designation of local entities as skill centers. Centers would then enter into formal written agreements with participating programs on the services to be delivered, and the sharing of resources, both financial and non-financial. This would help to identify and cut down on duplicative services, and to combine and provide common assessment counseling, testing, and labor market and occupational choice information. Participating programs would include JTPA, the Employment Service, the Family Support Act's JOBS program, Food Stamps, post-secondary and vocational education, Pell grants and student loans of the Higher Education Act, and veterans vocational training, among others. Other programs in the local communities would be included depending on how communities choose to use available resources.

Accountability System. "The second essential feature is an accountability system to ensure that only high quality training providers receive federal funds. Under this scheme, performance standards would be established concerning such elements as the financial stability of training providers and institutions and outcomes such as employment rates and earnings of program graduates. The performance of providers would be assessed by private industry councils, and then certified, a process that would be done in cooperation with a single state agency with overall responsibility for certification of a variety of higher education programs. While the first feature of the proposal is to assure access to full and complete information for consumers, this second feature would ensure a system of quality training services and accountability through standards of performance required of training providers.

Vouchers. "A third element in the proposal would be directed at creating a more efficient and responsive system by establishing vouchers for vocational training. Vouchers would be used to enhance participant choice where there are multiple service deliverers of vocational training and to create market competition among providers. Exceptions would be provided for areas without multiple vendors and adequate facilities, and for populations that would not be adequately served by existing institutions. For example, there may be need to fund directly and set up programs that respond to the needs of persons with disabilities or the needs of other special population groups. The proposal also contains elements to support informed choice in the use of vouchers, such as counseling, assessment and testing services provided through the skill centers.

Coordination through Private Industry Councils (PIC's). "A fourth feature of the legislation calls for the introduction of local coordination mechanisms with program oversight and a significant role for the local business community and service deliverers in the management of employment and training programs. In the new legislation, this function is assigned to PICs that were established under the JTPA.

"The proposal for mechanisms to promote local program coordination is made in recognition of the approximately 60 programs funded by the federal government that impact on employment and training efforts at the secondary education level and at other non-baccalaureate levels. These 60 programs account for about $18 billion and are managed under seven departments in the federal government. This is what happens when programs are added, but rarely subtracted, over time. This proposal does not abolish programs. It is an attempt to knit together, integrate, inform and make coherent the programs that exist, recognizing that each serves important constituents and has tailored purposes."

Uhalde stressed the need to tie these programs together and to train and educate individuals to meet established occupational skill standards. The latter will be particularly difficult to achieve.

ALAN ZUCKERMAN

Zuckerman provided a view of what is needed to support youth education and employment training from the perspective of the people served by our institutions. His background and experience in efforts to effect better planning at the local level reinforce the thesis that institutions do not cooperate in the best interests of the customer.

In response to the prior presentation, he indicated that it is difficult to conceive of an elaborate one-stop shopping center without first considering the improvements needed in the area of training. Further, he felt that all the legislative proposals taken together are still not of the magnitude and of the scale of the need. "Whereas the General Accounting Office estimates 9.3 million dropouts and high school deficient young people in this country, the proposals at best address five or ten percent of these youth.

Characteristics of a Model Human Investment Strategy

"Our current policies require that we practice triage to figure out which populations can be served and how much service they get. We never provide young people enough services so that they become truly skilled. We never invest enough in anybody. Hence, we waste a great deal of time and energy and, worse, the hope of people who enter these systems. He offered the following analogy: "It would be like saying we only have enough higher education money to fund a quarter of the students, so everybody will get one year. Every four students will split a college education. It might be a little bit absurd, but it is too close to the truth."

Zuckerman then outlined a proposal developed by the National Youth Employment Coalition that is designed to promote a broader way of thinking about these issues. It is modeled on the GI Bill and what it did for our economy and our policy regarding human investment. Its distinguishing features are:

Individualization. "Different youth need different kinds of help; therefore the needs of the individual must drive the mix and intensity of services. With the advent of computers, we now have the tool that will allow us to individualize or customize training services.

Comprehensiveness. "It is not enough to view vocational training as the sole support by which an adolescent can successfully enter the workforce. We must structure our approaches so that young people who may not have access to adequate medical care, transportation or good secondary education can succeed.

No Time Constraints. "Programs and services must be flexible and long term. We must be realistic about the time it takes for an individual to become permanently attached, or relatively permanently attached, to a job or career. Paul Alston, in his latest look at the Longitudinal Survey of Youth, suggests that at age 30, there is still 30 percent of people who have not yet found their niche in our economy. Yet we are trying to rush this discovery and development process into a three- or six-month magic pill of time for young people.

Universal. "This element is often absent from education and training policies because of the associated costs. When we decrease the size and scope of what our system offers and who it serves, we undercut our nation's capacity to use all of its diverse human resources and to become competitive throughout the world. Obviously, we must expand our existing system and help our schools and service providers become more responsive and more responsible to all our youth.

Job Opportunity Grant (JOG) and Job Opportunity Loan Program

"The proposal is to create a universal bill of rights provided through a job opportunity grant

and loan program. The equivalent of a Pell Grant—roughly $2,500 to $3,000 per year in the form of a grant, with an equivalent loan program of between $500 and $800 for helping youth—would be provided. The cost of the grant program for the 9.3 million dropouts and high school graduates with deficiencies is about $25 billion. Assuming that the loan program can pay for itself over time, you have some idea of the magnitude of the cost per year for serving almost 10 million young people today. Anything less will not have an impact on our problem—a problem which is growing in magnitude for our American economy.

"The funds could be used to purchase services that an individual needs to make the transition to employment. The cost would be equally borne through general tax revenues, some form of an employer tax, and the loan that each individual would pay back through the Internal Revenue Service out of their employment income.

JOG vs. Vouchers. Does this plan represent a voucher approach to the delivery of employment preparation services? According to Zuckerman, the proposal provides for flexible funds and empowers the individual to spend it in the way that best achieves his or her ends, consistent with information that is made available. "I am proposing looking at this issue in a different way. Let us increase the magnitude of what we do. Let us empower young people so they can make choices and have the opportunity to do what those of us who are middle class are able to do for our children. We can do this for everyone in this country and truly begin to develop and cultivate our human resources."

PATRICIA MCNEIL

McNeil provided concluding comments from her perspective of experience both inside and outside of government. From her perspective, the education side has taken one set of tracks trying to improve institutions—sometimes by adding value to them, targeting funds to certain groups, or specifying particular activities or treatments for these groups. On the job training side, the track taken has been to set up separate programs, such as JTPA, which have been under-funded and less than systematic in dealing with participants.

She categorized the proposals presented in the briefing paper as falling into three categories:

1) those that target youth in the K-12 system and seek to improve the experience of the large group of young people who do not plan to go to four-year colleges;
2) those that target out-of-school youth—either youth who have dropped out of school or who have completed school but have not gotten what they needed from the education system to be successful in further education or in the workplace; and
3) proposals that target adults, such as some parts of *Job Training 2000*.

She then summarized what we know about what works based on our experience and over 25 years of funded research on youth and youth programming, and cited areas in which we have reached consensus and where we still need good answers.

What We Know—

"On average, credentials pay off in the job market. People that have high school diplomas do better in the job market than those who do not have diplomas. People that have two-year degrees do better than people who graduate from high school. People who have four year-degrees do better, and on up through the highest degree levels.

"Mentoring, counseling and support are critical elements of youth development. Many young people from every income level get constant reinforcement at home which gets them through the variety of institutions and situations they must traverse enroute to adulthood. But there is a significant group who do not get this support and reinforcement. It is critical that these elements be a part of any program.

"Employers in this country are very reluctant to hire youth. They have very strong reservations about bringing young people into their workplace except on a very contingent basis. Even in the youth entitlement demonstration projects of the late 1970s and early 1980s, the youth were totally subsidized from project funds. Employer commitment will be a big hurdle in developing successful programs of youth apprenticeship.

Answers We Need—

"We have not found anything, however, that pays off in the long term for at-risk youth. We have found short-term solutions and documented big impacts. But for at-risk youth, there is no silver bullet over the long-term. Consequently, we continue to restart and provide interventions such as Head Start; then Chapter 1,

compensatory education; then reinforcement of basic skills at the middle school level. This is a continuous process. What we have not done is require every system to do its part to ensure the success of these young people.

"Although there is solid research about the importance and value of contextual learning, there is little clarity about where it should take place—on the job, in the classroom, or what the mix should be of both. For the short term, we should proceed with caution in pursuing policies which may take us down one road at the exclusion of the other.

"Unfortunately, we know more about what works with at-risk youth than what works for that enormous group of youth in high school that do not drop out, that stay but get little from the educational experience. We need to think a lot more about governance and to experiment with different approaches to managing and configuring programs and holding entities responsible for the success of young people.

"We obviously have a lot of work to do on standards. It is unclear in creating skill centers what the quality of information is going to be and how to ensure continued quality. The issue of quality programming has been missing in the last 25 or 30 years of our experience in providing education and job training programs. Neither have we attended to what happens in the classroom between the student and the teacher or in the job training program between the job trainer and the participant. The issue of program quality is one with which we have a very difficult time in federal legislation because it is hard to mandate. Further, we pay lip service to technical assistance but we do not really do much of it, and what we do in the area of technical assistance, we do not do very thoughtfully."

Where We Have Consensus—

"There is an amazing level of unanimity in some of the core elements of the (Bush) Administration's proposal and what advocates such as the National Youth Employment Coalition are proposing. Among the proposals addressing out-of-school youth, there is great interest in providing more choice and more options. For example, the America's Choice legislation calls for a new set of institutions for out-of-school youth in the form of Youth Opportunity Centers. These Centers would be outside the regular K-12 secondary school track.

"Additionally, many of the proposals come together around the issue of standards; the need for quality control; and the need for information, assessment, management and counseling. The key differences involve vouchers or working in an institutional setting. Otherwise, almost everybody on the out-of-school youth side says these are the things that we need to make the program good."

Decisions We Must Make—

"The solution for in-school youth appears to be more difficult, especially concerning the right systemic changes to pursue. Do we go down the apprenticeship road? Do we take the tech prep route? Do we make co-op education work better? Are there other approaches that should be pursued? How much classroom learning or how much worksite learning should there be? Is it possible to catch at-risk youth before they drop out? Is it possible to do something differently with them while they are in school? Should we set up institutions for at-risk youth as safety nets, assuming that these kids are going to drop out, or try to reform school systems for them and the rest of the kids?"

Discussion:

Participants agreed that laws can be passed to support youth apprenticeship, but to ensure success, time and effort must be put into planning and implementing quality programs. In devising a quality program, the following need to be considered:

Zuckerman: If we think of entry-level jobs as stepping stones to careers and continued learning, then the moment that first job begins is the moment the intervention should intensify. That is when young people begin to know what it is they need to learn in order to become successful and to advance in the workforce. You cannot just put somebody on that first step of that first job and say, "Okay, now you are on your own." This is in effect what we have done in almost all of our second-chance programs.

He then stressed the need for a much longer and varied period of time available to young people for preparing for and entering into successful employment. The issue may not always be additional schooling, but the timing of schooling and the work experience. There should be a point where someone may understand the need for certain knowledge and then be able to

acquire it—not just regret they missed it when in school. "It is very motivating for someone taking carpentry to realize why it is important to learn algebra. This is the value of learning in a practical environment. It is not learning for the sake of satisfying a teacher."

Ways of Addressing the Multiple Needs of Low-income and Other Youth to Support their Healthy Development into Adulthood and Adult Responsibilities. There was consensus among participants about the need to develop programs that address human development in a comprehensive way. The lack of a comprehensive focus was one reason several participants felt that too many of our efforts have had short-term effects. Youth from high-risk environments may evidence short-term gains while they are in programs, but these gains soon dissipate after they leave the program. There are greater influences being exerted upon them from conditions in their communities. We may need to focus our efforts on community development and community change. We must build these considerations into the programming we design for young people.

Zuckerman: We cannot design systems to support youth without improving schools, providing health care and ensuring that jobs exist in their communities. This is why there has to be investment in community services and strategies for using these community services as part of a job creation scheme.

The Staff Development Needed to Support the Components of Good Programs that Address a Range of Youth Needs, including Basic Skills, as well as Human Development. There has not been enough training of adults to support the type of school-to-work programming needed for youth; much needs to be done in the area of staff development.

Employers, Employees and Worksites

Participants raised questions about how to overcome employers' reluctance to hire young people. They also discussed the types of job experiences and worksites required to best support youth and their development. They then discussed the relative benefits to youth and employers of structured work and learning programs.

There was consensus around the need to work more closely with the existing secondary labor market where young people can get on-the-job training, such as in the fast-food industry. It was recommended that we should start thinking about structuring these kinds of jobs as learning experiences for young people. These are also places where employers are very aggressive about trying to find people.

McNeil: "Foremost, we want jobs with career potential for young people. We can think differently about the value of jobs in the secondary labor market. Many such jobs can be viewed as stepping stones towards management and entrepreneurship, but for most young people these jobs represent only a way to earn cash and not much more."

"Good co-op programs try to identify jobs with this value-added component. This is also evident in projects such as the U.S. Department of Labor's Sears demonstration grant. Sears is involved in this effort because of a need to develop a supply of career appliance repair technicians. Sears wants to train young people right out of high school for these jobs. As a result, work and learning opportunities are opening for youth and they can now see directly the importance of schooling and its relationship to real employment opportunities. They are putting their basic skills to work and are beginning to think not necessarily of being a lifetime repair person at Sears but of continuing their education in two- or four-year colleges.

"Because Sears entered this project in the hope of establishing career ladders for long-term employment of individuals with their company, and because youth are viewing this opportunity as a stepping stone to continued education, we should not assume that the project has failed. Sears will have the benefit of competent repair people for a number of years and young people will have had an excellent learning experience. In this case, we are talking less about a career track and more about the benefits of a learning experience. The key is to get students, parents, educators and employers thinking differently about the role of employment and how to use it to engage and further the development of youth."

In response, one participant felt that the problem with the "stepping-stone" solution is that, for too many youth, the stones end in the middle of the river and there is no place left to go. There are no good jobs or bad ones; the problem comes in how we structure them and how we use or do not use them as opportunities for learning. He then contrasted a typical job at McDonald's with that same approach to fast foods in a vocational program. In the latter, students set up and run the enterprise, study the chemical content of the food and the health

effects, keep the accounting, and figure how to keep the business going and how the whole thing works. This is the "all aspects of the industry" approach embodied in the 1990 amendments of the Carl Perkins Vocational and Applied Technology Act. When this approach becomes part of the work experience, the job placement becomes much more powerful regardless of whether those students stay in food services or not.

It was strongly voiced that we can provide better educational experiences in work settings if we (1) focus on placements in high performance workplaces that provide experiences in the day-to-day running of the enterprise, and (2) structure the job experience so that students rotate through a number of areas of the business or industry. In so doing, we begin to create the impetus for employers to restructure jobs that make use of these broad skills and knowledge and that require high quality training. This then is a way to begin to use civil rights laws as engines for economic growth. Employers who waste human talent and do not structure their work as high performance places, have no business under the civil rights laws using the kind of standards that we are talking about for high skilled workers because the jobs they offer do not require that they hire based on those standards. These businesses cannot use these standards, and therefore should not be part of this new partnership.

Another participant's concern involved tying on-the-job learning experiences for young people to training and development efforts for adults. It is difficult to envision placing students in apprenticeship positions, when adults cannot find work. Therefore, it is important to develop comprehensive strategies for job creation that are tied to the employment needs and realities of adults. We must view apprenticeship as one part of a larger picture or training continuum that is also connected to other federal agency programs and efforts to support the incumbent workforce. This concern also ties back into the staff development needs cited above—the need to provide training for adults who work with young people so that these teachers and mentors can provide high quality services and programs.

Special Programming for Young Women

The status of efforts to prepare young women for non-traditional job areas was questioned. McNeil cited the provisions in the federal vocational education act to prepare females to pursue non-traditional jobs. Her experience in projects targeting young women is that these efforts can be successful, but they require attention to program quality and a clear focus on what is to be accomplished and how it is to be achieved. She stressed that there are many opportunities for women, however, realizing these opportunities involves changing the way systems think about women in the workplace. Getting more females into a range of occupations involves hands-on efforts—formal guidance and other supports—at the youth apprenticeship program level, at the program administrative level, and at the service provider level.

Areas of Consensus

The discussion centered on areas of convergence of opinion in the current legislative school-to-work proposals. Could the Administration's three-part theme, which deals with standards, quality control and governance, be grafted onto the Coalition's financing proposal as a fourth title for a more comprehensive approach to what is needed?

Uhalde conceded that the missing component in the Bush Administration's proposal was funds and that the Coalition's proposal would take an expansion of funds—about $25 billion—to be put in the hands of young people who would then be allowed to shop through the system. He underscored the primary need to get the system functioning efficiently. Having laid the groundwork for a more accountable system, people would have more confidence in it and additional funds would then follow.

Zuckerman: One of the reasons there is so little confidence in our current system is because it has never served anywhere near the magnitude of the need. As a result, we think of it as inefficient.

Weintraub stressed the need to consider the importance of governance in redesigning whatever we do. It is important to enfranchise political officials so you have a base of support for programs. One of the problems with JTPA is that it has no real base of support. There are no new institutions built by JTPA rushing to testify for increased funding. Before designing another new program, let us look at where the support for that program will come from.

Ambach noted that we seem to go back and forth between the need for demonstrations and

categorical approaches, and full-blown systemic change, but with a lack of resources to realize that level of change. He suggested that we use the full diversity of our states to try a full range of approaches. In some states, we can attempt action at a full system level; in some states, we can build our way more slowly. It may be possible to design legislation to move us toward full scale in addressing the school-to-work needs of all our youth. It will be necessary to do this if we are not to experience the pitfalls Alan Zuckerman described. We are not talking about 10,000 or 50,000 or 100,000 young people. We are talking in the millions now and in the future. This is not something to be completed by 1995 but over the broad term and with deep commitments nationwide.

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V

ROUNDTABLE:

Essential Components of Quality School- and Work-Based Programs for Youth

The fifth session of the seminar series was a roundtable discussion to (1) examine the many legislative proposals advanced for the promotion of youth apprenticeship and other school-to-work initiatives; and (2) discuss necessary components of legislation that will support the goal of improved programs of youth preparation for employment.

The background reading for the session was the Congressional Research Service's (CRS) summary of legislative action (July 10, 1992, "Analysis of Various 'Workforce Readiness' Bills Under Consideration by the 102nd Congress, compiled by Rick Apling.) The paper provides a summary of several proposed bills, including their key characteristics and workforce readiness provisions; provides a table of authorizations for each bill through 1997; and raises a number of policy issues which should be addressed in formulating a legislative strategy. The "workforce readiness" aspects of the bills address the development of youth apprenticeships; training standards and certification; coordination of statewide training; school-to-work transition; technology education; and training current workers.

The following questions frame these policy concerns:

1) Are new programs necessary, or is improved coordination and consolidation of current programs sufficient?
2) Are additional funds needed, or is current funding ample?
3) Do we know enough to implement full scale programs, or are demonstrations and further investigations necessary?
4) What Federal agency or agencies should direct the effort?
5) Who should be targeted for services?
6) Who should provide education and training?

GORDON AMBACH

Ambach, the Executive Director of the Council of Chief State School Officers and session moderator, challenged participants to look at what is proposed in the bills against what we might collectively want to accomplish and asked, if you take them all together, will they meet the challenge before us? In the area of funding, the appropriations for the bills summarized in the CRS document total about $900 million for the first year. This amount would (1) provide for a substantial set of demonstrations of youth apprenticeships, and (2) set up a number of ingredients or components of a system of youth employment preparation, including the establishment of standards and procedures at the federal level for regulating and supporting the system. You get these components only with the total of all the bills. Additionally, a range of differences exist across the individual bills.

Ambach identified the following purposes inherent in the legislative proposals:

- transforming the job training system in the United States;
- addressing the need for high skills development for international competition;
- remembering "the forgotten half" by building a system of support or subsidization for those who have not received the kind of assistance that youth going to college receive;
- providing better conditions to motivate youth to be responsible workers and to complete school; and
- all of the above.

Participants then offered additional purposes for new legislation:

- addressing the need in the national interest to craft a school-to-employment transition system

  This requires melding the numerous programs and policies that currently exist, or at least making them truly complementary, in keeping with the goals and vision of the system. To do this, we must be more systematic in identifying and structuring the necessary elements of the system. Any new legislation should support the development of elements and incentives necessary to structure the system. Two basic elements identified are mechanisms for (1) developing and articulating occupational standards across industries, and (2) communicating those standards to schools and training programs so that they can align their curriculums and instructional strategies to ensure student success.

According to one participant, "You can lay a system 'on top of people' or you can provide incentives so that they will want to compete in order to get into it. We must be very systematic and strategic in our thinking about what is needed to sway the public about the need for a system of school-to-work transition. Unlike the system for getting young people from high school to college, in which parents and young people have some idea about what courses are needed, why they are needed, and some knowledge of what tests are required and their importance, we do not have a comparable general understanding about how to move kids into other aspects, such as the world of work."

- underscoring the importance of some form of post secondary education for success in future employment

  We have gone from the notion prevalent in the 1980s of ensuring that all young people get a high school diploma, to the recognition that a diploma alone is not enough. Yet, postsecondary education for a large percentage of our high school graduates remains unreachable and three-quarters of young people stop short of a four-year-college education.

Another participant pointed out that only a few of the pending bills specifically include postsecondary education. Most are targeted on eleventh and twelfth graders in secondary school. Although the suggested outcomes of these initiatives are employment or postsecondary education, the bills do not envision a two-plus-two or a more comprehensive program that includes postsecondary education. It is unclear then whether the purpose of new legislation can be characterized as attempting to increase postsecondary education rates or developing a program for eleventh and twelfth graders of which postsecondary education **may** be an outcome.

Another participant viewed the new proposals in light of their potential for realizing the following purposes:

- Revolutionizing secondary education—making it a much more lively enterprise, and possibly eliminating the general track. Collectively, these bills have the potential to revolutionize secondary education because they build upon and begin to implement major federal investments in research and development. They reflect the need for better ways to teach and learn than the traditional ways and foster hands-on, experiential, and contextual learning. Part of the reason for being in the school or being anywhere is to be able to learn those skills that are going to help you live better later in life.
- Introducing new players to the education of young people —particularly employers and unions—to an extent never dealt with before in education legislation. There may be additional players, but there is a clearly underlined belief in these legislative proposals that we cannot solve major problems without some new partners.

School Reform, Business Involvement, or a Combination of Both

The two purposes described above motivated a lengthy discussion about the contrasting goals of school improvement or reform versus a new paradigm of education involving new players, such as employers, and what this would entail.

School Reform. One speaker felt we should think of the school-to-work issue in the context of general reform in education and other bills in Congress that relate specifically to reform in secondary education. "We should not think that the school-to-work issue is a separate concern. Therefore, when we consider elements such as occupational or training standards, we must

think in terms of the academic standards that are also under consideration in Congressional legislation. We must look for the pieces we need in general elements of education and training and in other programs and legislation." Another speaker concurred, indicating the need for a broader agenda that does not merely create an isolated youth apprenticeship system.

The notion of school-to-work programs as tools of educators for motivating and instructing young people was stressed. Yet, it was felt that businesses should be interested in these efforts and care about them in their self-interest. "Businesses are not just being altruistic in helping kids. It's a way of getting capable employees. There are examples of businesses that are beginning to address this issue, particularly small businesses."

Business Involvement. Another participant disagreed with the linking of school reform to opportunities in the workplace and felt that education reforms should be independent of whether business cooperates with schools. "Your focus is the need for an education tool or education process. The fact that you are linking it to the work environment is an advantage to the education process. You are proposing taking the kids who are disinterested in the traditional program, who are failing or dropping out, and giving them a program of work experience. In this way, you make school and work into a positive, instead of a negative, experience for these kids.

"I argue with any position that casts apprenticeship or school-to-work programs strictly as an educational tool. I recommend that you begin to argue for structural changes within the education arena. I do not think for one minute that success or failure should ever have anything to do with whether some businesses want to participate and others don't. That's the wrong discussion. Let's assume that in any industry no more than one or two percent of employers will buy in. They are not going to dominate the whole of business, and they should not. School-to-work transition should be viewed strictly from an instructional standpoint. Our concern should be how to set it up in terms of schools and the quality of the education process."

A second speaker dealt simultaneously with the pitfalls of (1) linking these new programs so closely to learning in the workplace, and (2) relying solely on changes in schools to bring about more successful ways of preparing youth for productive employment. "A concern, especially in urban areas, is that to be able to have meaningful education opportunities in the workplace, we must first have a workplace to support those meaningful education opportunities. For many of our youth, there is almost no workplace to be had. This is a problem that cannot be solved through an education system alone."

The comment was made that we over-simplify our task by making this an education sector issue alone. The issue is much more complex and gets at more deeply grained issues, such as the point at which businesses should commit to the development of young workers and the costs to businesses in delaying this commitment.

"The common assumption seems to be that employers do not want to hire young adults until they are about 25 years old. The feeling is that they are too young to be taken seriously and considered for a long-term investment. So business waits until these young people get some years of experience under their belts—until they get older, want to get married and want to settle down. As a consequence, young people often churn around without major commitments to and from the workplace during a pivotal point in their development. In effect, the eight or ten years that they flounder, represents a loss of efficiency to businesses in not cultivating new talent very efficiently and ultimately contributes to a less productive economy.

"This is not just an educational problem; it is also a business problem. Business is not able to operate most efficiently in this country because it is not able to connect with the schools to find the individuals for the workforce, to train and develop their thinking, and to create more efficient employees."

The question of how to ensure business involvement was raised. "I'm concerned that if there isn't some type of legal obligation of business, when the crunch comes the commitment to young people will no longer exist. If businesses are to be involved intimately in the education of young people, they have to have some obligation to assume this responsibility as an ordinary part of doing business."

One response given was that you cannot legislate business involvement. Another participant countered that the Germans, Swiss and French do. Another added that the Germans do it through tax policy. This is made easier because this commitment is a part of the culture of their business organizations.

"I would like to feel that business will immediately move to work with schools and

"In countries like Germany and Japan, there is a close connection between employers and educational institutions. The Japanese hire kids right out of the school based on the recommendation and reputation of the school. In Germany there are apprenticeship programs and direct business relationships with the schools. In our country, we don't have the basis for these types of relationships."

young people in the way we have been describing because it is in their best interest. But, in reality, we cannot count on them to come to this conclusion. The tendency is to jump always on educators, but we must also jump on business. This is a real dilemma. I don't think you solve it by legislating responsibility and obligation on the part of companies. If so, you will be throwing a party that nobody attends."

Another respondent suggested that we consider how to build into legislation incentives and vehicles for those companies that see the need to participate. "Nothing motivates others like success. But we don't have enough success stories in this country to help prove the point. We don't have enough companies saying to others that this pays off." Another spoke to the need to articulate a new covenant with mutual responsibilities of both schools and businesses.

Designing Programs Based on the Targeted Student Population

One recommendation offered was to devote greater emphasis to special programs for secondary school students. Four options were discussed based on the critical decisions we make about how inclusive to make our efforts.

1) If our premise is to provide a seamless education system that encompasses a certain set of competencies and learning experiences for all, our challenge is to determine how to raise all young people to those levels of competency. This may happen in a variety of ways—through the regular school system, alternative schools, youth apprenticeships, and a whole host of special programs. No matter which, they should all add up to a system in which no youth falls through the cracks and every pathway is a quality choice.
2) If the assumption is that the system for youth going to four-year colleges is okay, though it may need improvements in areas of access and quality, we can then focus our efforts on developing a system for those that are not going to four-year colleges.
3) A third approach might be to create a youth apprenticeship system for a small group of youth that would be in addition to tech prep and other programs provided through the regular school system.
4) In a fourth option, we might want to look generally at different ways of educating young people to ensure success for all of them. We would do this through demonstrations and experiments to determine best practices for educating dropouts or graduates with deficient skills.

These are among the choices to be made which affect the type of system, level of effort, and set of components required. Despite the choice, there will be some constants which must be addressed. For example, work in the area of standards is needed and will apply across all options. The same can be said for employer involvement in the schools. We can agree to work on those cross cutting pieces without deciding on a specific direction for federal youth education and training policy.

Youth Apprenticeship

One participant acknowledged the common themes evident in the bills, especially around the apprenticeship issue, but counseled against a problem encountered in past legislation—assuming that the synergistic whole of what we want to accomplish must be legislated intact. "If we are not careful, we will end up with a bill that tries to do too much and in the end is not very good. It is important to narrow down to two or three things that are important, develop a structural outline and deal with some of the other issues elsewhere."

Responding to the dangers of overloading legislation, Ambach asked whether we were also trying to load too many expectations onto a particular design—youth apprenticeship—in order to accomplish multiple purposes. "The assumption appears to be that an effectively designed program such as youth apprenticeship would by itself deal with objectives like systemically transforming the secondary school experience to one that provides more hands-on learning opportunities and engages labor and business in the employment preparation of young people."

Another participant felt that we should not be too concerned about tying multiple expectations to the development and expansion of youth apprenticeship. Rather, we should view it as a mechanism for providing multiple pathways and multiple outcomes for youth. By way of example, he described the diverse visions of many of the pioneers and promoters of youth apprenticeship-types of programs in this country.

"Many people feel there is a role for youth apprenticeship and that expansion and access to these types of programs will help to alleviate

some of the problems we currently face. However, they may attach different purposes and outcomes to these programs. Maybe that's the way it ought to be. We should aim for something more than a series of small demonstrations.

"I refer you to the recent issue of *Student Apprenticeship News* which describes the efforts of many employers that are reaching for some form of youth apprenticeship because of their particular needs—not because people in Washington, D.C. are calling for them to do it. In Tulsa, Oklahoma, American Airlines and machine tool companies have a serious problem identifying a supply of machinists. These companies are paying high school kids good wages to become apprentices in this career field. In Pasadena, California and in Wisconsin, the printing industry, not knowing how to keep up with all the changes it is experiencing, is investing in youth as a way to get a future work force. Hospitals in Boston and New York are doing the same. So it is obvious that something is percolating here. It may not be a clean or systematic approach, but there is impetus for change and many folks are stepping forth and creating solutions to their problems."

Another participant indicated that we need legislation that has an impact on the very things that are not normally recognized, valued or representative of our current practices, such as contextual learning, employer involvement in education, mentoring, and the integration of real world encounters into youth's developmental experiences. "Our present approaches offer no one way or system for making these practices widely accessible. Youth apprenticeship is a way of packaging and sanctioning these strategies; however, we may want to pursue other ways. If we believe in these practices, we should ensure that they are part of this system we are devising."

A word of caution was voiced around the focus on apprenticeship. This speaker felt that a German-style apprenticeship system could not work in this country because as a people we are much more fluid. Moreover, the Germans are having trouble filling their apprenticeship spots, especially in states like Bavaria, because many young people want to go to the university instead of entering an apprenticeship. "Their system is too rigid."

In contrast, this speaker felt that youth apprenticeship should be one of the options in a school-to-work transition system among other options, such as tech prep. "The point is to have some type of system where kids know where they are going, where multiple options exist, and which provides a great deal of fluidity among those options. As it is now, high school students are totally befuddled if they are not going on to college. They do not know how to prepare themselves for or where to go to get jobs. There is no system in place to help them."

Another speaker cautioned against putting all our eggs in one basket because of the expectation of a job following an apprenticeship. "If we institute an apprenticeship system, we can't guarantee all kids a job because of the way the world economy operates and because business is increasingly greedy and unwilling to make the commitment. Further, students will not want to enter a program which is an option to the traditional program if the result is not a job upon completion of the program. Whatever we develop, it must be a comprehensive system with a number of different approaches and outcomes."

Another caution dealt with legislation that is overly prescriptive because this is an area that needs a lot of flexibility. For example, several of the bills are, unwisely, specific to the point of recommendations about the percent of time spent in school and the percent of time spent in the workplace.

A final caution dealt with the issue of a sub-minimum wage and what this means (1) in terms of the kind of investments that employers will make in the training of youth, and (2) in the relationship that youth apprenticeship programs will have to organized labor.

Next Steps

Consensus supported the notion that any solution must be intimately tied to reform of high schools. There must be intrinsic change in the way high schools present education for a transition system to exist. Both go hand in glove—changing secondary education and establishing a system of school-to-work transition.

One participant opined that all of the bills were inadequate if the tasks were to (1) reform high schools so that they make better sense to more young people, and (2) create a system of school-to-work transition. Most of the bills authorize relatively minor amounts of demonstration money which cannot go very far. This respondent felt that fundamental change is required. But to have fundamental change, we must have (1) new revenues, and (2) agreement between the education and the business communities. "The best thing that could happen is to not piddle around with these bills. Rather,

"Stephen Hamilton, one of our first speakers in this seminar series, was a high school vocational teacher who later studied in Germany and came to the notion that youth apprenticeship was a much better way of helping young people mature as self-confident individuals. He saw youth apprenticeship as a way to reform our high schools. Bob Lerman, whose vision of apprenticeship forms the basis of Senator Nunn's Bill, is an economist. He came to youth apprenticeship as a way of dealing with social problems. He views youth apprenticeship as a way to equalize opportunities for disadvantaged youth. Sam Nunn came to apprenticeship because he saw it as crucial for economic development within the communities in the South and elsewhere. Ira Magaziner, one of the chief architects of America's Choice, came to apprenticeship in large part because he saw this approach as essential to maintaining America's economic position in the world. Others, such as David Stern of the National Center for Research in Vocational Education, came to apprenticeship because they thought it was a better way to teach and learn."

—Samuel Halperin

convene a summit between leading educators and leading business organizations to establish agreement about the need for fundamental change in high schools that support a school-to-work transition program."

Following is a summary of the ensuing discussion on essential components needed in any new legislation.

One participant: "Although we may be enamored of the German apprenticeship program, we must understand that its bedrock includes a dedicated source of revenue and close cooperation between business and the schools. To move toward any type of system means involving business intimately in the transition of young people from high school into work through dedicated revenue for training purposes, recognition of the pivotal role businesses play in the education and training of all workers, and the realization and commitment that this is part of their cost of doing business."

Funding. The need for a dedicated training tax was mentioned by several participants. Such a tax should be controlled by business, educators and the state in order to provide many high quality options. Even if such a system were state run, employers would have a strong say in how the system was operated.

Building Infrastructure at the State and Local Levels. This cluster of legislative proposals taken together represents an emerging and long overdue focus on building infrastructure at the state and local levels. It represents a recognition that states and local communities know what is best to do and, given access to funds that are driven by outcome measures and performance standards, states and localities will put in place a reasonable infrastructure to support a system of school-to-employment transition.

According to one participant, "It is time for us to become more serious about building systems and finding ways to think more clearly about replication of programs across communities and states. Our nation's job training history has been to seed new systems from the top down. The systems about which we are now talking must be grown from the bottom up. What can be done at the national level to foster the development of stronger infrastructure or stronger systems at the local or community level?"

Coordination Among Existing Elements. It is critical to develop what we have rather than to create a new program. The idea of coordination—agencies working effectively together—is basic to the type of system we seek to create.

One participant felt there is really nothing in any of the legislative proposals and activities that cannot be done currently under existing laws. Yet she asked, "If this is so, why don't more examples exist of the types of programs we wish to see?" Since these programs have not flourished under existing law, we need some type of impetus through demonstrations and new legislative actions.

Creating a Climate for Change. Among the challenges that must be overcome is creating a climate for change within the institutions needed to implement successful school-to-employment transition. According to one participant, existing institutions do not want to change and sometimes do not know how. Service providers, even if they want to, are not sure what to do differently. They need guidance. Expectations of them have not been clearly articulated by both policymakers and the receivers of the services—especially, the relatives of "the forgotten half" who may not know of potential avenues of preparation beyond the traditional college education and, hence, cannot serve as good advocates for their children.

On the opposite side, there are expectations of employers to be involved and to provide feedback to schools and training providers on the changes within the workplace. In reality, the workplace is changing so rapidly that employers are not really sure what is needed of new workers and what advice to give on the preparation required of them.

Ensuring employer involvement. The need for expanded involvement of business was a recurring theme as was the statement that developing a system of transition for youth was not the sole responsibility of education.

According to one participant, "If there is to be truly any type of school-to-employment transition program, it cannot be fashioned in Washington, D.C. It cannot be fashioned by educators alone. It has to be fashioned with business as an integral partner—a partner willing to make commitments that will be legally binding to keep people on the job while they're in a training program. This requires some type of contract involving obligations on the part of business as well as obligations on the part of the student trainees. Business is integral if there is to be any true system, otherwise we're just playing around with a lot of words that don't mean anything."

Ambach asked, "If you pursue the remark that you can't foster this type of change from Washington, the question becomes what can you

do in Washington that might encourage or enhance the development of that system and that would help the business obligation to occur?

The response was that you could pass laws or try to get agreement about a general outline of a system. However, in a country that is so huge and that has so much complexity in employment, there must be flexibility in any type of system established. Many of the large corporations are laying off employees. Employment opportunities and economic growth lie with the smaller employers. We need a system that allows for great diversity across employers and flexibility to respond to and support their myriad needs and interests.

In response, the bill sponsored by Senators Kennedy and Hatfield, and by Representatives Gephardt and Regula, known as the "America's Choice Bill," was cited as one that clearly states the obligation of employers to create a high skill workforce, and stresses the need for major investments in human beings without which our workplaces will not be competitive.

Leadership and Standards. The need to send the right message, including expectations of high standards, was stressed. "What we need to do is send a message to young people that our country's leadership is serious about creating opportunities for their future. One of the ways we are beginning to do that is by focusing on setting national standards. In doing so, we send the message to our young people that if you achieve these standards in your education or training experience, you are likely to have future employment opportunities. We also send a message to employers that we want them to clearly describe what they are about and what they expect of their employees. Once the standards-setting work is complete, we can begin to look at who is doing a good job of meeting these standards, and then identify what needs to be done to support employees and businesses.

"The system being described will be a high level and highly visible structure with enough durability to sustain the momentum of institutional change over a sustained time period. The scale of the legislative proposals, however, does not support this level of reform. At most, they are potentially useful first steps in the process of educating ourselves and our institutions in how to effectively structure youth apprenticeships or other kinds of school-to-employment efforts.

"Aside from these bills, we will not see larger scale action without first and foremost having highly visible presidential leadership. The present structure of schools and the involvement of businesses are so fundamental in American society that they will be very difficult to change. Issues of change will not come about without high-level, sustained, energetic presidential leadership. No particular piece of legislation could have that kind of impact.

"Even with this type of leadership, the amount of time needed to work through these changes, and the difficulty of stopping and starting of priorities in a given Administration, there is need for some form of quasi-governmental entity to move the issue forward over a six-, eight- or ten-year time frame. This type of sustained support, along with substantial amounts of funds and a substantial amount of presidential leadership is required."

Addressing disparities in opportunity. Another challenge identified is the great disparity in opportunities for employment for youth. In New York City, only 13 percent of 16- to 19-year-olds are employed. In Chicago and Los Angeles, the figures are 22 and 27 percent, respectively. These percentages compare unfavorably to the 42 percent national average for this age group. We need to make special efforts to ensure that any school-to-employment transition system we create is inclusive of all youth.

Another participant added that one of the things that works best with youth is the opportunity to build on success. By building structured opportunities to interface with the workplace, apprenticeship may be one approach to build models of success and improved self-esteem for many young people.

Summary Comments

Gordon Ambach recounted the objectives of this final session. "The first objective was to become better informed about the different school-to-employment legislative proposals. Second, was the need to sort out the purposes of the different bills and to think about the priorities we want legislation to address. Finally, we tried to wrestle with the question of whether a piece or a combination of pieces of legislation which deal with more rather than few of those purposes can be crafted. We considered the possibility of whether a particular piece of legislation can or should deal simultaneously with reforming school systems, increasing the role of business and increasing motivation of youth, or whether the focus should be on one objective rather than another.

"It is obvious there is a big job ahead of us involving significant, systemic changes and the enormous challenges of having a highly decentralized environment which is large in scale.

"We are involved in a totally different environment with respect to many of the central characteristics of a youth apprenticeship system. We have no national arrangement through which employers come together to decide the criteria for their employees to enter a given field. Nor do we have a structure through which labor does that.

"We are also talking change in a period when there will be limited dollars. We may be told to craft demonstrations or partial solutions and the danger may be to limit our expectation to too small a focus. That will only frustrate our efforts to craft the next steps that would lead to a bigger system. Yet we can do the design work needed to put pieces in place that will move us toward that system. We are beginning to see the fruits of good effort, but even these lessons will not work in a widespread way unless they are cast within a broader framework. We need systemic designs to move us forward."

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